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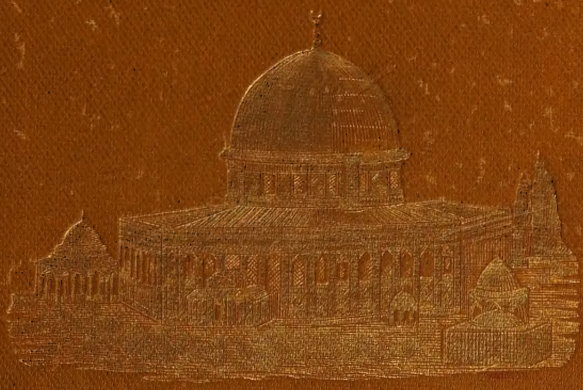
# TWENTY-ONE YEARS' WORK IN THE HOLY LAND.



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The Dome of the Rock. (*From a Photograph by the late C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake*).

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PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

# TWENTY-ONE YEARS' WORK

IN THE

# HOLY LAND:

(A RECORD AND A SUMMARY)

JUNE 22, 1865—JUNE 22, 1886.

*Published for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.*

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# PREFACE.

THIS little work is designed to answer a question often put,—why the Society has no *resumé* of its work for popular use? This volume endeavours to give such a *resumé;* it points out in general terms the Biblical gains resulting from the work of the Society; and it shows, also in general terms, what remains to be done.

The detailed answer to the inquiry as to the actual results of our work is to be found in the great work called the "Survey of Western Palestine," and in the maps published by the Society.

The present moment has been chosen for the appearance of this book, because this day is the twenty-first anniversary of the Foundation of the Society.

W. B.

*June* 22, 1886,
1, ADAM STREET, ADELPHI.

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# THE SURVEY OF WESTERN PALESTINE.

This great Work embodies the whole of the researches conducted by the Society. It consists of—

1. The GREAT MAP of Western Palestine. In 26 sheets, on the scale of one inch to the mile.

2. The MEMOIRS arranged according to sheets. By Captains Conder and Kitchener, R.E. In 3 vols.

3. The NAME LISTS, containing 10,000 names collected during the Survey. Transliterated and translated by Professor Palmer.

4. The FAUNA and FLORA of Palestine. By the Rev. Canon Tristram.

5. SPECIAL PAPERS on Various Points of Sacred Archæology. By Col. Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., Major Gen. Sir Charles Warren, G.C.B , F.R.S., Captain Conder, R.E., M. Clermont Ganneau, and others.

6. JERUSALEM. With a portfolio of 60 plates. By Gen. Sir Charles Warren and Captain Conder. Contains an account of all the researches which have been made in the Holy Land up to the year 1884.

7. THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF WESTERN PALESTINE. By Edward Hull, F.R.S.

These volumes are illustrated by many hundreds of drawings, photographs, maps, and plans, chiefly drawn by Captain Conder and Captain Kitchener. No expense has been spared to make the work complete and worthy of its subject. No more important contribution to Sacred Geography and Archæology has ever been made. Only 500 copies were printed, of which some copies remain, and are sold for the Committee by their agent, ALEXANDER P. WATT, Publisher and Literary Agent, 34, Paternoster Row.

# TWENTY-ONE YEARS' WORK.

## CHAPTER I.

### FOUNDATION OF THE SOCIETY.

THE Society known as the Palestine Exploration Fund was first formally constituted at a public meeting held in Willis's Rooms on Friday, June 22nd, 1865, the Archbishop of York being in the chair.

The objects and intentions of the founders were the prosecution of systematic

and scientific research in all the branches of inquiry connected with the Holy Land, and the principal reason alleged for conducting this inquiry was the illustration of the Bible which might be expected to follow such an investigation. In the following pages the reader will learn briefly how far the Society has been successful.

In his opening address, the Archbishop laid down certain principles on which, he said, the work of the society should be based. It is, in fact, in recognition of these principles that the work has always been carried on. These were :—

1. That whatever was undertaken should be carried out on scientific principles.
2. That the Society should, as a body, abstain from controversy.
3. That it should not be started, nor should it be conducted, as a religious society.

The object of the first law was to ensure that the results of inquiry and exploration, whatever they might prove, should command from the world the same acceptance as a new fact reported from a physical laboratory, and that the work should be faced in the same spirit of fearless investigation into the truth as obtains in scientific research. The conduct of the principal part of the work by officers of the Royal Engineers has effectually ensured this object. No dispute has ever arisen, nor will any

question ever arise, concerning the statements or reports furnished by the Society's agents. Those who remember the bickerings which formerly prevailed over every estimate as to measurements, heights, distances, and positions, as one book of Syrian travel followed another, will recognise the enormous advantage of having these points ascertained and laid down for us once for all by men whose official position and professional reputation, as well as the methods of research which they adopted, place their reports beyond question.

As regards the second point, it was at first intended that the Committee should place on record nothing but the bare facts discovered. Wilson's Report of 1866, and Warren's Letters of 1867-70, contain, in fact, very little indeed beyond the barest facts. But it was presently found impossible, and, indeed, undesirable, to keep out of the Society's publications the element of personal opinion. Warren recorded, for instance, after his return, in addition to the official report of his excavations, the conclusions which he had come to and their bearing upon the problems. Conder, in his reports written in the field during the Survey, set down from the very first, and unreservedly, his own conclusions as to identifications and topography. The subscribers to the Society, it was then discovered, desired nothing more than the publication of such arguments and such conclusions.. They were found

to give life to the bare facts of the survey. These, and other dissertations, views and suggestions, made the pages of the Society's Journal full of interest. But for them the *Quarterly Statement* would have been no more interesting than a volume of name lists, and the Committee would have lost their most powerful means of keeping up and extending the interest in their work. At the same time, these arguments and conclusions have always been published with reserve. They are not advanced as the opinions of the Committee, which, as a Committee, has no opinion, but are signed by their author, and he alone, as is stated in every number, is responsible for them.

The third principle secured the independence of the Association in preventing it from being attached to any religious body, church, or creed. As then constituted, and as it now exists, it simply invites support from all those persons who happen to be interested in a certain collection of books, apart from any doctrines which may have been deduced from those books, or any opinion as to the weight of those books, and apart from the fact that to very many these are, and always will be, the most precious books in the world. The Society numbers among its supporters Christians and Jews—Christians, that is, of every church, Protestants and Catholics, Anglicans, Greeks and Romans, Nonconformists and Unitarians. No questions of

doctrine will be found treated in the Society's publications, nor any of ecclesiastical discipline and authority, nor any which concern the genuineness and authenticity of the books concerned.

At the outset of this record it is the special duty of the Committee to express, firstly, their profound gratitude to the War Office for granting the services of Royal Engineers for the execution of the work, and secondly, their sense of the surprising good fortune which has attended them in the personal character and the remarkable abilities of the officers who have worked for them. Among the many distinguished officers who at present adorn the scientific branch of the Service there are none more distinguished than Sir Charles Wilson and Sir Charles Warren. There was no officer of the corps more highly esteemed than the late Major Anderson. As for Captain Conder, he will be regarded as nothing short of a personal friend by everyone who reads these pages; he has been for fifteen long years the chief prop and mainstay of the Society; he is *par excellence* the Surveyor of the Holy Land. The military record of Lieutenant-Colonel Kitchener promises to eclipse his civil distinction. But it must never be forgotten that before he went to Egypt he surveyed Galilee for this Society and Cyprus for the Colonial Office.

At the first meeting some hopes were put forward by the speakers which have been realised beyond

expectation, and some which have been so far disappointed. After this lapse of time it is interesting to recall what was said and what was thought on that occasion. For instance, it was then confidently expected by everybody that a few excavations in Jerusalem would quickly decide the whole of the vexed questions as to the holy sites. Sir Austin Layard, fresh from the excavations which enabled the world to reconstruct the history of a long-lost people, spoke hopefully of the light which might be thrown upon the ancient history, the arts, and the architecture of the Jewish nation by examining the mounds which were already known to exist in the country, and by excavating on the sites of the ancient cities. Our excavations since that time in Jerusalem and elsewhere have yielded a very small amount of information on Jewish art, though something on Jewish architecture, and, as yet, there have been no excavations at all of the mounds, high places, and ancient sites, outside Jerusalem, with the exception of the mounds at Jericho; that is a work which we hope to take in hand when we have accomplished what we have already commenced. The Count de Vogüé, at the same meeting, went so far, in his zeal for excavation, as to say that nothing then remained above ground in Palestine to be discovered. Yet since that day the Moabite Stone, the Phœnician inscription in the Pool of Siloam, the stone of Herod's Temple,

the head of Hadrian's Statue, the Stone of Bethphage, the Stone of Zoheleth (1 Kings i. 9), the boundary inscriptions of Gezer (Joshua xvi. 3-10, &c.), the Sassanian monument at Ammân, the Palace of Mashita, many ancient synagogues, and hundreds of ruined towns, all above ground, have been discovered. Sir Roderick Murchison advocated a geological and geographical survey of the country,—we have since executed both of these Surveys, with results of far greater importance than he expected. Mr. Palgrave dwelt upon the ethnological side and the importance of noting the points of distinction among the people now inheriting the country. "The Land," he said, "is a land of petrifactions, where remains which might elsewhere have perished or become wholly decomposed still remain intact and preserve their distinctive lineaments." The Dean of Westminster took a similar line in recommending a careful study of the manners and customs of the people. We have done something towards this in publishing the papers of Mrs. Finn and Mr. Klein, while our officers have, in the course of the Survey, made many valuable observations on the subject. But we are now embarked upon an enterprise in this direction on a far greater scale than that contemplated by Dean Stanley. The spirit of research has, since his speech on that day, become more scientific. Such an inquiry as that then contemplated would have

been neither scientific nor complete. It can now, thanks to the labours of the Anthropological Society, be both scientific and complete. As will be seen presently, we hope to make this inquiry in a more systematic manner than was then contemplated, and over a far wider area. Lastly, Prof. Owen and Canon Tristram spoke of the natural history of the country and of the many gaps which then existed in our knowledge. Thanks mainly to the exertions of the latter gentleman we have been able to fill up many of those gaps.

The meeting was followed by an appeal for funds, letters were inserted in the papers, and the other usual methods were adopted to obtain publicity, Mr. George Grove, the foremost among the original founders of the Society, being its first honorary secretary and spokesman.

The first Committee consisted of the following gentlemen :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Archbishop of York. | Samuel Gurney, M.P. |
| Duke of Argyll. | R. Culling Hanbury, M.P. |
| Duke of Devonshire. | A. H. Layard, M.P. |
| Earl of Derby. | Walter Morrison, M.P. |
| Earl Russell. | John Abel Smith, M.P. |
| Earl of Shaftesbury. | William Tite, M.P. |
| Bishop of London. | Dean of St. Paul's. |
| Bishop of Oxford. | Dean of Westminster. |
| Bishop of Ely. | Dean of Christ Church. |
| The Speaker. | Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B. |
| Sir S. Morton Peto, Bart. | Sir Roderick Murchison, K.C.B. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Prof. Owen, F.R.S. | J. Fergusson, F.R.S. |
| Rev. Prof. Pusey, D.D. | F. Waymouth Gibb C.B. |
| Canon Ernest Hawkins. | Ambrose de Lisle. |
| Rev. E. H. Plumptre. | Samuel Morley. |
| Rev. A. W. Thorold. | John Murray. |
| Rev. H. P. Tristram, F.R.S. | Antonio Panizzi. |
| Rev. George Williams. | Henry Reeve. |
| Rev. S. Martin. | G. Gilbert Scott. |
| Rev. N. Macleod, D.D. | William Spottiswoode, F.R.S. |
| Dr. Joseph Hooker. | William Tipping. |
| Dr. William Smith. | W. S. W. Vaux, F.R.S. |
| W. Hepworth Dixon. | Mr. George Grove (*Hon. Sec.*) |

Mr. John Abel Smith, M.P., and Mr. Robert Culling Hanbury were the first treasurers; they were subsequently succeeded by Mr. Walter Morrison. The hon. secretary was afterwards joined by the Rev. F. W. Holland, and a sub-committee consisting of the Archbishop of York, the Dean of Westminster, and Prof. Owen was appointed to draw up a statement of the general objects of the Association. When this statement was produced, in October, 1865, the Committee of 45 had been swollen to the number of 79, and then contained, in addition to the first published list, such names as Lord Strangford, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, Lord Carnarvon, Sir Moses Montefiore, Dean Howson, Dr. Temple, Dr. Vaughan, Dr. Allon, Dr. Porter, Prof. Rawlinson, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Macgregor, and many others of like weight and note.

The Original Prospectus, when it left the hands of the sub-committee, was as follows :—

No country should be of so much interest to us as that in which the documents of our Faith were written, and the momentous events they describe enacted. At the same time no country more urgently requires illustration. The face of the landscape, the climate, the productions, the manners, dress, and modes of life of its inhabitants, differ in so many material respects from those of the western world, that without an accurate knowledge of them it is not too much to say that the outward form and complexion of the events and much of the significance of the records must remain more or less obscure. Even to a casual traveller in the Holy Land the Bible becomes, in its form, and therefore to some extent in its substance, a new book. Many an allusion which hitherto had no meaning, or had lain unnoticed, starts into prominence and throws a light over a whole passage. It is not to be expected that the modes of life and manners of the ancient Israelites will be revealed by any discovery of monuments in the same fulness that those of the Egyptians and Assyrians have been. But still, information of value cannot fail to be obtained in the process. Much would be gained by obtaining an accurate map of the country; by settling disputed points of topography; by identifying ancient towns of Holy Writ with the modern villages which are their successors; by bringing to light the remains of so many races and generations which must lie concealed under the accumulation of rubbish and ruins on which those villages stand; by ascertaining the course of the ancient roads; by the discovery of coins, inscriptions, and other relics—in short, by doing at leisure and systematically that which has hitherto been entirely neglected, or done only in a fragmentary manner by the occasional

unassisted efforts of hurried and inexperienced travellers. Who can doubt that if the same intelligence, zeal, knowledge, and outlay were applied to the exploration of Palestine that have recently been brought to bear on Halicarnassus, Carthage, Cyrene—places without a single sacred association and with little bearing on the Bible—the result would be a great accession to our knowledge of the successive inhabitants of Syria — Canaanite, Israelite, Roman?

Hitherto the opportunity for such systematic research has been wanting. It appears now to have arrived. The visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to the Mosque at Hebron has broken down the bar which for centuries obstructed the entrance of Christians to that most venerable of the sanctuaries of Palestine; and may be said to have thrown open the whole of Syria to Christian research.

The survey of Jerusalem at present in progress under the direction of Captain Wilson, R.E. (a survey supported by the private liberality of a single person; as it proved, the grant of 500*l.* made by the generous person referred to, was unequal to the work, which was only accomplished by the generosity of Captain Wilson, who gave his whole time and labour for nothing), has shown how much may be done with tact, temper, and opportunity, without arousing the opposition of the authorities or inhabitants. Recent letters of Sir H. James and others in the *Times* have borne testimony to the remarkable fitness of Captain Wilson for such undertakings, and have pointed out other places where explorations might be advantageously carried on.

*It is therefore proposed to raise a fund to be applied to the purposes of investigating the Holy Land by employing competent persons to examine the following points:*

1. ARCHÆOLOGY—Jerusalem alone would furnish an ample

field in this department. What is above ground will be accurately known when the present survey is completed; but below the surface hardly anything has yet been discovered. The Tombs of the Kings on Mount Zion—the course of the Tyropœon Valley—the real extent of the Temple enclosure—the site of the Tower of Antonia—of the Palace of Herod—of Ophel—of the Pool of Bethesda—the position of the towers of Hippicus and Psephinus—the spring and conduit of Hezekiah—are all awaiting excavation; and it is not too much to anticipate that every foot in depth of the "sixty feet of rubbish" on which the city stands, will yield interesting and important materials for the Archæologist or the Numismatist.

Beyond the Holy City the country is full of sites which cannot fail amply to repay examination. Of these a few only may be enumerated:—Mount Gerizim, possibly the Moriah of Abraham's sacrifice, certainly the Holy Place of the Samaritans, containing the stones which they allege to have been brought up by Israel from the bed of the Jordan—the Valley of Shechem, the earliest settlement of Jacob in the Holy Land, with his Well and the Tomb of Joseph—Samaria, with the traditional tombs of John the Baptist and others, and with the extensive remains of Herod's edifices—the splendid Roman cities along the coast, Cæsarea of Herod and St. Paul—Antipatris—the once renowned harbours of Jamnia and Gaza—the mounds and other remains of Jiljilieh, probably the Gilgal which contained the Great College of Prophets in the days of Elijah and Elisha—the Fortress and Palace of Herod at Jebel Fureidis—the Tombs (probably those of Joshua) at Tibneh—the mounds at Jericho—the numerous remains in the Valley of the Jordan—Bethshean, one of the most ancient cities of Palestine, with remarkable remains of Roman, and probably still earlier, date—Jezreel, the capital of Ahab and Jezebel

—the Assyrian mound, called Tel es Salahiyeh, near Damascus, &c., &c.

2. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.—A work is urgently required which shall do for the Holy Land what Mr. Lane's "Modern Egyptians" has done for Egypt—describe in a systematic and exhaustive order with clear and exact minuteness the manners, habits, rites, and language of the present inhabitants, with engravings intended like his "not to embellish the pages, but to explain the text." Many of the ancient and peculiar customs of Palestine are fast vanishing before the increasing tide of Western manners, and in a short time the exact meaning of many things which find their correspondences in the Bible will have perished. There are frequent references to these things in the books of travellers, and they have recently formed the subject of more than one entire work; but nothing sufficiently accurate or systematic had been done, it can only be accomplished by the lengthened residence of a thoroughly competent person.

3. TOPOGRAPHY.—Of the coast-line of Palestine we now possess an accurate map in the recently finished Admiralty Charts. What is wanted is a Survey which when we advance inland should give the position of the principal points throughout the country with equal accuracy. If these were fixed, the intermediate spots and the smaller places could be filled in with comparative ease and certainty. In connection with the topography is the accurate ascertainment of the levels of the various points. The elevation of Jerusalem and the depression of the Dead Sea are already provided for by the liberality of the Royal Society and the Royal Geographical Society;* but the level of the Sea of Galilee (on which depends our knowledge of the true

* See Sir Henry James's letter to the *Times*, Jan. 28, 1865.

fall of the Jordan) is still uncertain within no less than 300 feet—as are other spots of almost equal moment.

The course of the ancient roads, and their coincidence with the modern tracks, has never been examined with the attention it deserves, considering its importance in the investigation of the history.

The principles on which the modern territorial boundaries are drawn, and the towns and villages allotted between one district and another, would probably throw light on the course of boundaries between the tribes and the distribution of the villages, which form the most puzzling point in the otherwise clear specifications of the Book of Joshua.

4. Geology.—Of this we are in ignorance of almost every detail. The valley of the Jordan and basin of the Dead Sea is geologically one of the most remarkable on the earth's surface. To use the words of Sir Roderick Murchison, "it is the key to the whole of the geology of the district." Its Biblical interest is equally great. To name but one point: the decision of the question whether any volcanic changes have occurred round the margin of the lake within the historical period, may throw a new aspect over the whole narrative of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.

5. Natural Sciences—Botany, Zoology, Meteorology.—These are at present but very imperfectly known, while the recent investigations of Canon Tristram, limited as they necessarily were, show that researches are likely to furnish results of no common scientific interest. Naturalist after naturalist will devote himself for years to the forests of South America, or the rivers of Africa, why should we not have some of the same energy and ability applied to the correct description of the lilies and cedars, the lions, eagles, foxes, and ravens of the Holy Land?

It will perhaps be said that many of the points above

enumerated have been already examined—that Robinson, Stanley, Rosen, and others have done much in the department of topography—that Hooker, and more recently Tristram, have reported on the botany—that Roth and Tristram have brought home shells, fish, birds, and eggs—that the researches of M. Lartet on the geology of the Dead Sea, and those of the Duc de Luynes, De Vogüé, and De Saulcy on archæology, are on the eve of publication. This is true, but without intending to detract from the usefulness or the credit of the labours of these eminent men, it is sufficient to observe that their researches have been partial and isolated, and their results in too many cases discrepant with each other. What is now proposed is an expedition composed of thoroughly competent persons in each branch of research, with perfect command of funds and time, and with all possible appliances and facilities, who should produce a report on Palestine which might be accepted by all parties as a trustworthy and thoroughly satisfactory document.

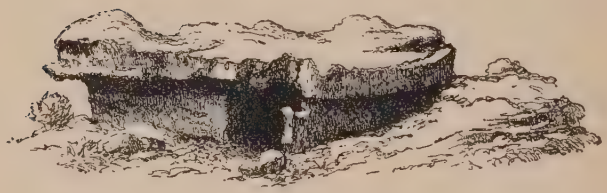
It is hoped that an arrangement may be made by which Captain Wilson will be able to remain for a few months in the country after he has completed the survey of Jerusalem and the levelling between the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea; and it will not be difficult to find competent persons to undertake the other departments named above. The annual cost of each investigator may be taken roughly at £800 (including both remuneration and expenses).

Her Majesty the Queen has been graciously pleased to become the Patron of the Association, and to contribute to its funds.

As will be presently seen the Society has attacked every one of those four divisions in turn, with the exception of the second, which is now under consideration.

# CHAPTER II.

## CHRONICLE OF THE SOCIETY.



Cromlech in Galilee.

In the year 1865-66, the first or preliminary expedition was sent out under Captain Wilson and Lieut. Anderson, the results of which are detailed in chapter III. (see p. 38).

In the year 1867, a great stimulus was given to the Society by the announcement that excavations were about to be made in Jerusalem, and letters were written to the *Times* by Mr. George Grove, which, backed by one or two leading articles, created for a short time very great enthusiasm. It must be remembered that the founders hoped to accomplish all their objects in a very few years, and by the expenditure of a comparatively small sum. With this belief the Committee contemplated a brief existence and began by asking

for donations, rather than for annual subscriptions, so that in the first three years the comparatively large sum of £8,000, which was raised in answer to their appeals, consisted almost entirely of donations. The Queen, who became the Patron of the Society, gave £150; the University of Oxford £500; the University of Cambridge £250; the British Association £150; the Grand Lodge of Freemasons £105; the Syria Improvement Committee £250—this Committee subsequently voted other large sums; the City of Edinburgh sent up £200; Glasgow £140; Cambridge £100; and Oxford £90. There were eleven donors of £100, and a great many others in the first lists who gave between £50 and £100 each. But as yet there were hardly any annual subscribers. These had to be created when the need for them arose, namely, when all the money of the "first sprightly flow" had been spent.

The time of great donations has never passed away, and scarcely a year passes but some gift of a very substantial kind rejoices the Committee; but the Society no longer wholly depends upon them. It possesses now a large body of subscribers who send every year their half-a-guinea, guinea, two guineas, and sometimes more, to the Secretary. There are, at the present moment, about 3,500 of these. There have been times when there were more, and no doubt the announcement of work recommenced in

Jerusalem, or of Captain Conder's return to the field, would again, and quickly, run up the numbers. Some of these subscribers are old friends who have continued with us from the beginning, always interested in the work and always looking for the appearance of the *Quarterly Statement*; others drop off year by year and are replaced by new subscribers; the general depression of trade and the bad times have forced some reluctantly to retire, while others send up their contributions only when a party is in the field, in a belief, which it seems impossible to destroy, that when an expedition has once come home with the note-books full, no more money is wanted. Some, again, are interested more in one branch of inquiry than in another. Some continually urge the Committee to resume excavation work in Jerusalem, while others are eager for the completion of the Survey. It is, however, to this great body of annual subscribers that the Committee have chiefly looked for the last eighteen years for the funds wherewith to prosecute the work, and it will always be their endeavour and hope to be constantly enlisting new members, and extending the area covered by their members. It is certainly better, in the interests of extended knowledge and of Biblical research, to have ten annual subscribers of a guinea each than one donor of ten guineas, and the lecturers and advocates of the Society no longer ask so much for special donations as for annual subscribers. At

the same time, donations are always most acceptable. The machinery by which the Committee look most for extension and support is by the help of their local secretaries, by their lecturers, by their publications, and by means of the press. The money spent in advertising is a very small annual item.

To return, however, to the early years.

In the year 1868 it was found absolutely necessary, although Mr. Grove had been joined in his office as hon. secretary by the Rev. F. W. Holland as coadjutor, to have an office for head-quarters and as a place where information could be had and the papers and circulars of the Society seen, and a secretary who should receive visitors, explain the nature and results of the work, conduct the correspondence and carry on the regular daily business of the Society. Mr. Walter Besant, M.A., was, in July, 1868, appointed secretary, and has ever since continued to hold the post.

In March, 1869, it was resolved to give the reports and letters of the exploring officers a more permanent shape by issuing them once a quarter, and sending them round to all subscribers. Before this a few copies only had been printed, as the letters came home, and these were sent round to such of the subscribers—a small selected list—as it was thought would be interested in them. Many of them, therefore, were not aware of what was being done. In this

way was first established the *Quarterly Statement.* It began with an issue of 500 copies, and the first number contained, besides Warren's letter and a *resumé* of work prepared by the secretary, only a reprint of two articles, one by Mr. John Macgregor from the *Times*, and one by Lieut. Warren from the *Athenæum.* This Journal is now the recognised organ for all papers on Palestine research, and penetrates into all parts of the world where the Bible is studied. Its circulation naturally varies with the number of the subscribers. At the present moment it is less than 3,000, though in some years it has gone up to as many as 5,000. Considering that it addresses none but such as are serious students of the geography, history, and archæology of Bible lands, this circulation may be considered very fair. It has published, among its seventeen volumes, an invaluable collection of papers on all subjects connected with the Society's operations. Most of the important matter up to the year 1882 has been transferred from its pages to the Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine, yet those who have kept the early numbers and have a complete collection may take note that an unbroken set is fast becoming very valuable. The Journal contains, in addition to the reports and letters of the officers, a great number of papers on various subjects, discussions on sites, notes of journeys and independent research. Nearly

all these papers have been given to the Committee. During the seventeen and a-half years of its existence, the Journal has cost little more than £50 altogether to writers for contributed papers. The whole of the rest has been contributed voluntarily, and for nothing, to the Committee.

It is sometimes urged that it is desirable to make the *Quarterly Statement* more attractive, and no doubt larger type and thicker paper would make it look better, but the postal expense would be doubled or trebled—a serious consideration when the distribution is done altogether through the post. As it is, the postage of their Journal costs the Committee from £60 to £100 a year. To multiply this cost by three, which larger type and thicker paper would necessitate, would oblige them to retrench in the matter of illustrations and maps, in which it must be owned that the periodical has always been most generous and liberal. Some of the papers published are, it is again complained, dry. It may be replied, however, that it is difficult to make meteorological tables and returns, the hard facts of latitudes, longitudes, aneroid heights, angles, distances, and contours, what is generally called light reading. Yet these things, when they have been ascertained, must be published, otherwise they might just as well never have been searched for, and moreover, it must be remembered that they cease to be dry when they are applied to the objects

for which they were investigated. Thus, to take a single instance, it is doubtless a dry fact, by itself, to read that Captain Conder has discovered the long-lost city, Kadesh of the Hittites. But the fact is anything but dry when it is accompanied and explained by the narrative of the way in which this fact was arrived at, the history which it illustrates, the Egyptian campaign in which the city figures, and the knowledge that it has been rediscovered from the information conveyed in an Egyptian monument 3,000 years old. Further, it is no longer a mere dry fact when we consider that this place belonged to a very remarkable people, the extent of whose country as well as the site of their sacred city have only recently been discovered, whose inscriptions, only recently brought to light, still await decipherment, and whose story is gradually being wrested from the records of the past. Our *Quarterly Statement* is full of such instances — chiefly contributed by Captain Conder, who, if he had his note book in one hand, generally had the Book of Joshua in the other, and never laid down a newly found name, a newly discovered ruin, on his map, without inquiring what connection, if any, it might have with the sacred narrative. A few of his conclusions, arrived at on the field, may have been abandoned on more careful investigation; most of them, however, have held their ground, and met with general acceptance. Those

who have for fifteen years followed those voluminous letters, reports, and papers from him, which sometimes nearly filled the *Quarterly Statement*, will remember not only the brightness and vividness of his style, the picturesqueness and colour of his descriptions, the happy touches by which continually the country and its people seem to stand forth revealed to the readers who have never visited the land, but also the unexpected snatch of some old site out of a pile of names, the quick instinct which told him that some old ruin consisting of nothing but broken cisterns, foundations hardly to be traced, and fragments of broken pottery, was a Biblical site which had long been wanted to fit into its place for the determination of a tribe boundary, or was some long lost historical city filled with sacred and classical associations.

The first offices of the Society in Pall Mall East were retained until the year 1877, when the Fund was turned out in order to make room for an enlargement of business premises; an office was then found at Charing Cross, but this was soon discovered to be too small for the wants of the Society, and in the year 1880 another move was made to Adam Street, Adelphi, where the Fund is now established.

In the year 1879 it was judged prudent, the Association having now become possessed of a considerable amount of property, to convert it into a Limited Liability Company, under the Acts provided, with

power to trade, but not for profit of the managers. This was done without altering the management in the least. There are seven or eight nominal shareholders, the former manner of government is continued, and the Society has all the protection afforded by the law, which enables it to defend, if necessary, its copyright in books and maps and its property in collections and objects of art.

Other domestic history there is little. Of the original Executive Committee first elected on April 18, 1866, two alone remain, Mr. Walter Morrison, who has been the hon. treasurer for the Fund since July, 1867, first with Mr. John Abel Smith and then Mr. Culling Hanbury, and since his death, alone; and Sir George Grove, the first hon. secretary.

Publications of the Society.

In the year 1870 the Committee published a book, edited by Mr. Walter Morrison, called the "Recovery of Jerusalem," in which, among other papers, Captain Warren gave an account of his excavations. About two thousand copies of this work were sold by the Society's publishers, Messrs. Bentley and Son. This was followed by a more popular book called "Our Work in Palestine," written by the secretary for the Committee, in which were set forth not only the nature of the excavations, but also their meaning, and the chief arguments in the controversy of the sites. Of this book, now out of print, nine thousand copies were sold.

After the completion of the survey, Captain Conder wrote a popular account of its methods and general results called "Tent Work in Palestine." This book was very well received. It passed from a library to a cheap edition, of which the second thousand has lately been called for. It promises, and deserves, to remain a popular and standard work on the Holy Land. On his return from the interrupted eastern survey, Captain Conder wrote another book called "Heth and Moab." In this work, which has also passed into a cheap edition, the author relates the story of his discovery of the Hittite Kadesh, and of his raid into the eastern country.

In the years 1881-85 the Committee published, for a limited number of subscribers, their great work called the "Survey of Western Palestine." This work is by far the most important they have as yet issued; it is, in fact, *the most important work* (*not excepting even Robinson's*) *on the Holy Land that has ever been given to the world; and the most important contribution to the illustration of the Bible since its translation into the vulgar tongue.* It contains:—

1. The Memoirs: with all the drawings, plans, sketches and notes made by the officers, supplemented by such other information as could be got from other recent travellers (*e.g.* under the word "Tyre" will be found a short history of the city, with an account of Renan's

excavations, and, in an appendix, Captain Conder's later researches). These volumes are illustrated by thousands of drawings, plans, maps, and sketches of ruins, tombs, &c., made by Captain Conder and Captain Kitchener expressly for the work.

2. The Name Lists: containing over 10,000 names collected during the Survey. These were transliterated by Captain Conder, and translated by the late Prof. Palmer.
3. Special Papers: being a reproduction of papers which have already appeared in the *Quarterly Statement.*
4. Flora and Fauna of Palestine: with illustrations, hand-coloured, by Rev. Canon Tristram.
5. Jerusalem. An account of all that has been done in the city in excavation and research, from 1865 to 1882, by Major-Gen. Sir Charles Warren, G.C.B., F.R.S., R.E., and Captain Conder, R.E., together with a portfolio of 60 sheets of plans and drawings.
6. To these volumes has been recently added Prof. Hull's "Geology of Palestine," a scientific memoir embodying his observations and discoveries during his expedition in 1884-85.

At the same time, and forming part of the same work, were produced the maps issued by the Committee, namely: the Great Map of Western Pales-

tine in 26 sheets; the Reduced Map in six sheets; the same with the Water Basins laid down; the Old Testament Map of Western Palestine, and the New Testament Map. As regards the two latter they will shortly be withdrawn and replaced by others showing both sides of the Jordan, including so much of the Eastern survey as is yet completed; the tribe boundaries and identifications will be superintended by Sir Charles Wilson and Captain Conder.

The whole of this work has been produced in a manner worthy of its contents, every drawing that the officers gave in has been published, with every note of their memoirs. The maps are in the best style, the reduced map being engraved on copper. The cost of the whole work, including everything, has been no less than £10,971. Of this large sum, £7,301 has been received from the subscribers to the whole work, and by sale of the maps separately, and when the remaining copies are taken up and the maps have been before the public a little longer, there will certainly be no loss to record at all.

In the year 1885 was published Prof. Hull's popular account of the geological expedition, in a volume called "Mount Seir."

The MSS. in the hands of the Committee and awaiting publication will be spoken of presently.

Other books, published on kindred topics, though

not issued by the Society, must also be noted, as showing the increased activity and interest in the subject. Among them are Warren's "Underground Jerusalem," and his "Temple or the Tomb"; Palmer's "Desert of the Exodus"; Tristram's "Land of Moab"; Ginsburg's "Moabite Stone"; Sir Richard Burton's "Unexplored Syria"; Fergusson's "Temples of the Jews"; Conder's "Handbook to the Bible," and his primer of "Bible Geography"; Besant and Palmer's "History of Jerusalem"; Lady Burton's "Inner Life of Syria"; Laurence Oliphant's "Land of Gilead"; Merrill's "Eastern Palestine"; Dr. Clay Trumbull's "Kadesh Barnea"; Conder's "Judas Maccabæus"; Wright's "Empire of the Hittites": Drake's "Life and Literary Remains;" the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology"; the books of the Société de l'Orient Latin; Tobler's learned works; the "Records of the Past"; the publications of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society; the Transactions of the American, German, and Russian Palestine Societies; and many others.

Cost of Exploration.

It is impossible to estimate by any money standard the value of the Society's work, for so far, and so far only, as it is solid and true, is it valuable, and all that in it is solid and true is unspeakably valuable.

The whole amount of money received by the

Society from June, 1865 to December 31st, 1885, has been as follows:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| From subscriptions and donations | £50,902 | 18 | 8 |
| Proceeds of lectures ... ... | 2,682 | 8 | 5 |
| Proceeds of publications ... | 1,825 | 1 | 9 |
| Legacies ... ... ... ... | 2,819 | 0 | 0 |
| Maps and memoirs* ... ... | 7,301 | 8 | 6 |
| Loan ... ... ... ... | 850 | 0 | 0 |
| | £66,380 | 17 | 4 |

And the expenditure has been as follows:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| On exploration ... ... ... | £35,081 | 19 | 9 |
| Returned to subscribers in publications ... ... ... | 8,224 | 17 | 9 |
| Maps and memoirs* ... ... | 10,971 | 5 | 9 |
| Management ... ... ... | 11,424 | 3 | 5 |
| Expended on exhibitions† ... | 347 | 9 | 7 |
| Balance ... ... ... ... | 331 | 1 | 1 |
| | £66,380 | 17 | 4 |

In other words, out of a total expenditure of £66,049 16*s.* 3*d.* spread over 21 years, the Committee have spent:—

On exploration ... ... 53 per cent.

* This includes the money spent and received on account of the "Survey of Western Palestine," the memoirs with their illustrations, the maps, and all the charges belonging to the publication of them.

† The Society has held two Exhibitions in London and one in Liverpool.

On management ... ... 17 per cent.
Returned to subscribers in
form of printed matter ... 13 per cent.

and on maps and memoirs, two-thirds of which have already been recovered by sales, while all the rest will also be recovered, a proportion of 17 per cent.

The present assets of the Society are (1) the balance at the bank amounting to a few hundreds; (2) its books, copyrights, photographs and maps; (3) its collections now at South Kensington, and (4) its library, collections and furniture at the central office. The liabilities are a current printer's bill of about £400, and a debt of £850 for an unpaid loan.

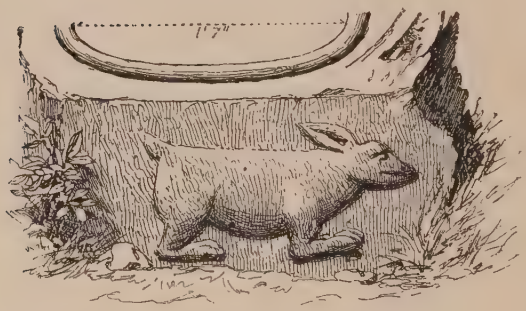
The collections could, if necessary, be sold for a very large sum of money. They include sarcophagi, ancient lamps, inscriptions, Jewish pottery, carvings, capitals, coins, objects of all kinds found in the excavations, models of Jerusalem and Sinai, collections of birds, and many other things. It is not intended, however, either to sell or to disperse this unique and valuable museum, but to keep the things together, and to make them the nucleus of the great Biblical Museum which the Society proposes to form.

The present General Committee of a hundred and thirty gentlemen includes in its list, it is gratifying to state, all the survivors of the original members. In the whole twenty-one years' history of the

Society there has been recorded but one secession from the Committee: that of a member who withdrew his name, but without assigning any reason. The chairman of the Executive Committee, which meets twice every month, and oftener if necessary, is Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S., and every information may be obtained, and the publications seen at the Society's offices, 1, Adam Street, Adelphi.

# CHAPTER III.

## THE FIRST EXPEDITION.

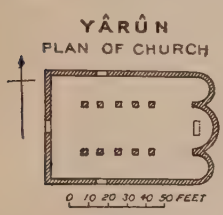


On base of column, Nebratein.

THE first expedition sent out by the Committee was in November, 1865, under Captain C. W. (now Col. Sir Charles) Wilson, R.E., who was accompanied by Lieut. Anderson, R.E. The general objects of the expedition were to fix, in particular, spots for further investigation, and to collect whatever information might be possible which would throw light on any of the points mentioned in the original prospectus of the Society. The expedition was in the field from December, 1865, to May, 1866. The following is the report of the work done, drawn up, from Captain Wilson's letters, by a sub-committee, appointed for the purpose, consisting of the Arch-

bishop of York, the Dean of Westminster, and Professor Owen:—

1. *Topography.*—By accurate observations for time and latitude, made at forty-nine separate points between Beyrout and Hebron, and by a line of azimuths carried through the country from Banias to Jerusalem, a series of detailed maps has been formed, on the scale of one mile to an inch (the scale of the English Ordnance Survey), of the whole backbone of the country, from north to south, including the lake of Genesareth and all the watercourses descending to its western shores.

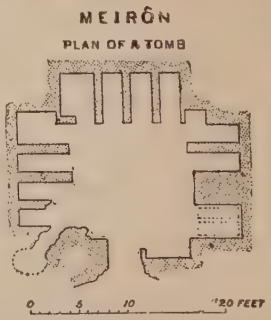



Two debated questions have been definitely settled: the confluence of the Jabbok (Wady Zerka) with the Jordan, and the course of the Wady Surar. The nature of the country, especially in the south, is very unfavourable for rapid reconnaissance, as the numerous watercourses are so narrow, and have such tortuous courses, that it is unsafe to trust the eye, and lay anything down that has not actually been visited. Most of the errors in the existing maps seem to have arisen in this way. To remedy this defect has been the aim of the present map, and must be the aim of any additions to it hereafter.

2. *Archæology.*—Materials have been collected for making about fifty plans, with detailed drawings, of churches, synagogues, mosques, temples, tombs, &c., amongst which are the plans of the cities of Beisan, Sebastiyeh, and Cæsarea; of the Holy Place of the Samaritans, and the ruined Church of Justinian, on the summit of Mount Gerizim; of ancient churches at Baalbek, Yarun, Sebastiyeh, Beitin, Bireh, Cæsarea, Lydda, Beit Jibrin, Kuryet-el-Enab, and Jerusalem; of seven Jewish synagogues; of the Grand

Mosque at Damascus, of a mosque at Nablus; of Temples at Deir el-Kalah, Mejdel-Anjar, and Kedes, and of numerous tombs in various parts of the country.

Columbaria near Beit Jibrin.




Inscriptions were found and copied at the Nahr el-Kelb, Der el-Kalah, Masi, Damascus, Tel Salhiyeh, Harran, el-Awamid, Banias, Kedes, Yarun, Nebratein, Kefr Birim, Kasyun, and Nablus; several of these are new, two of them in the Hebrew character, and others in the Samaritan. Squeezes were taken of the most important, including the tablets of Sennacherib at Nahr

[*To face p.* 41.

Tel Hum.

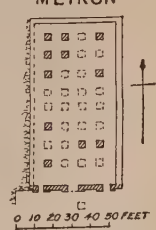
el-Kelb. The Hebrew and Samaritan inscriptions have been referred to Mr. Deutsch, of the British Museum, who has kindly undertaken to report upon their contents, age, &c.

The most interesting remains are those of the ancient synagogues at Tel Hum, Irbid, Kefr Birim, &c. To these attention has been called by Dr. Robinson in his "Later Biblical Researches." But the present expedition has furnished the first complete account of their arrangement and construction. They all lie north and south, have three gateways in the southern end, the interior divided into five aisles by four rows of columns, and the two northern corners formed by double engaged columns. The style of decoration does not always appear to have been the same. At Tel Hum (the strongest claimant for the site of Capernaum) and Kerazeh (Chorazin) Corinthian capitals were found; at Irbid a mixture of Corinthian and Ionic; whilst Kefr Birim, Meiron, and Um el-Amud have capitals of a peculiar character. The faces of the lintels over the gateways are usually ornamented with some device; at Nebratein there is an inscription and representation of the seven-branched candlestick; at Kefr Birim the ornament appears to have been intended for the Paschal lamb; and at Tel Hum there are the pot of manna and lamb. A scroll of vine leaves with bunches of grapes is one of the most frequent ornaments.

ΤΗΝΔΕΘΕΑΝΩΗΚΕ
ΦΙΑΕΤΗΛΩΔΙΟΗΛΝΙΩ
ΟΥΚΤΩΡΑΧΗΤΗΛΙΣΙ
ΨΑΧΟΙΟΓΟΝΟΣ

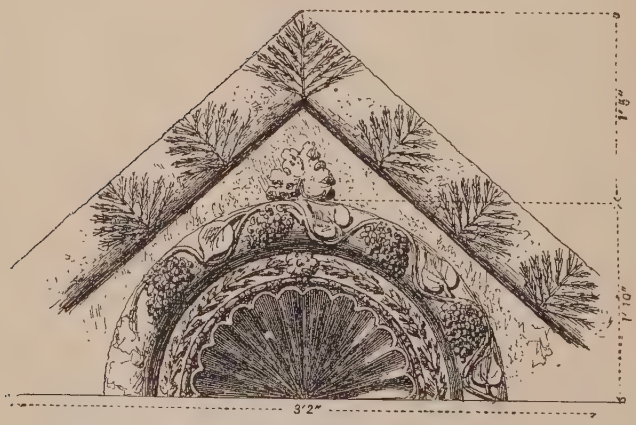
From Banias.

SYNAGOGUE AT MEIRÔN



The position of Chorazin at Kerazeh, a couple of miles north of Tel Hum—which had been indicated by the Rev.

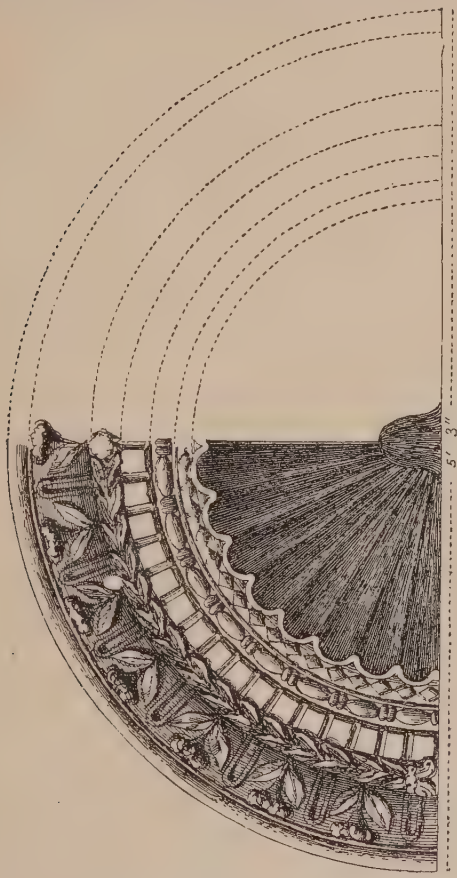
From Nebratein.




From Kerazeh.

G. Williams, in 1842—now seems to be fixed with tolerable certainty, by the presence of extensive remains, including those of a synagogue.

The ancient system of irrigating the plain of Genesareth can still be traced, and may help to throw light on the site




From Kerazeh.

of Capernaum. From the streams which descend the three Wadys of Hammam, Rubadiyeh and Amud, water was carried to the right and left by small aqueducts, and beyond these towards the north-east the plain was watered by the

spring of Tabighah. The Round Fountain seems to have irrigated a comparatively small extent of ground between Wady Rubadiyeh and Wady Hammam, the aqueducts from both of which can be traced nearly up to their sources, the latter one being still in use. By carefully using the water derived from these sources the entire plain was perfectly irrigated, and from the richness of its soil must have been of great fertility. Neither Ain et-Tin nor the Round Fountain answer to the account given by Josephus of the Fountain of Kepharnome; they are too small, and hardly come into the scheme of irrigation—the former not at all; but, supposing it to be Ain Tabighah, his allusion is at once explained by the copiousness of the supply, and the excavated channel through the rock above Khan Minyeh, by which the water was carried into the plain; the fertilizing powers of the fountain are still attended by the rank vegetation around the mills, more noticeable there than at any other point of the lake.

Near the mouth of Wady Semakh, on the eastern shore of the lake, some ruins called Khersa were visited, possibly those of the ancient Gergasa, and between this and Wady Fik (opposite Tiberias) appears to have been the scene of the destruction of the herd of swine; indeed no other point on that side of the lake is so suitable. From the eastern plateau the ground slopes steeply, in a few places almost precipitously, down to the level of the lake, leaving a margin of fertile land from half a mile to a mile broad between the base of the hills and the water; but at this particular point, and only at this, a spur runs out to the shore, there is no "cliff," but a slope sufficiently steep to fulfil the requirements of the Bible narrative.

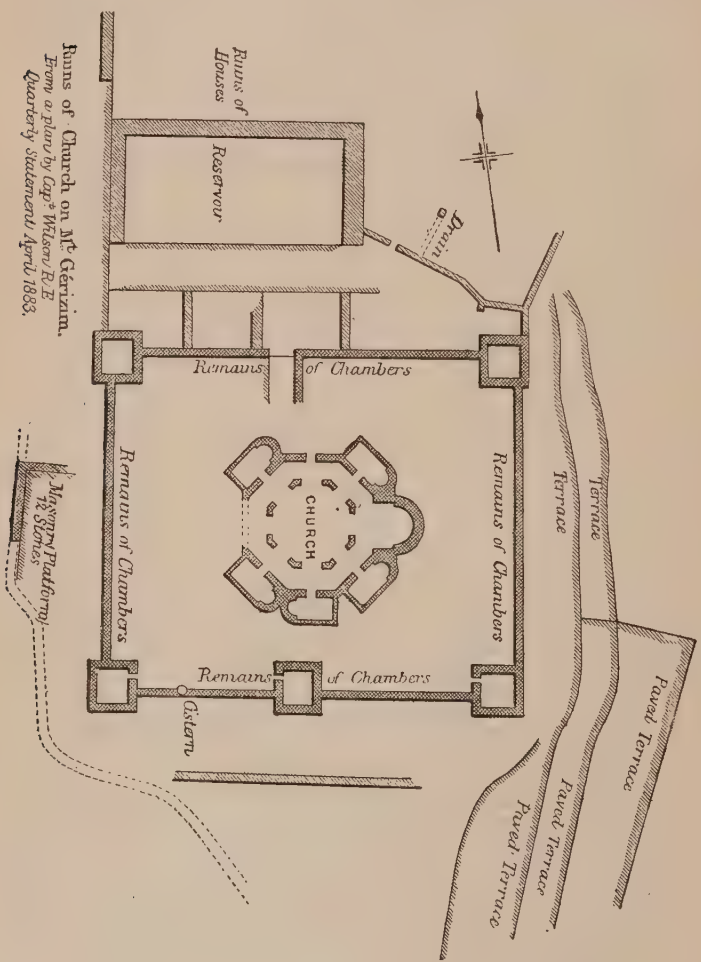
Excavations were made in three places in the mound of Tel Salhiyeh, apparently an Assyrian monument, near Damascus, during which the sculptural slab mentioned in

Porter's "Five Years in Damascus" was re-discovered. Owing to the badness of the weather it was not advisable to persevere with the exploration at that time; but it has been since resumed by Mr. Rogers, Her Majesty's Consul at Damascus, to whom a sum of £50 has been voted by the Committee for that special object.

Besides determining the general form of the authentic synagogues, the excavations made at Kedes confirm the conjecture that the supposed synagogue there was a Greek temple, of about the same age as those at Baalbek. At Jerusalem, the gate Gennath, so-called, was found to be of comparatively modern construction; and the continuation of the passage from the Bab el-Burak of the Haram, was discovered; the vault is of massive, well-built masonry, and there seems no reason to doubt that it is one of the original entrances to the Herodian Temple.

On Mount Gerizim numerous excavations were made, under the direction of Lieutenant Anderson. Within the ruin known as the "Castle," the foundations of an octagonal church were laid bare, probably the one known to have been built there by Justinian. On the eastern side of the church is an apse, on the northern side the main entrance, and on each of the others doors leading to small side chapels. In the interior are the piers of a smaller octagon, apparently intended to carry a dome. The church and castle were found to be built on a rough platform of large stones laid together without mortar, and of this—which may possibly be that on which the Samaritan Temple stood—the so-called "twelve stones" form a portion. No trace of large foundations could be found on the southern portion of the small plateau on which the castle stands. Close to the Holy Rock of the Samaritans a number of human remains were dug up, but no clue could be obtained to their age or nationality.

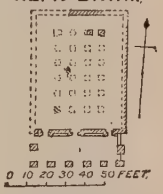
3. *Photographs.*—A series of photographs (9 × 6), 166 in number, have been taken, the majority for the first time. They comprise views of sites, details of architecture, inscrip-



tions, &c., the Samaritan Pentateuch, and a few natural objects.

The most important feature of this expedition has proved to be the examination of the synagogues, and especially the synagogue of Tel Hum. The "two debated questions" which were then settled are illustrative of the then condition of Palestine geography. If such a question or any other were now to arise in considering a passage of the Bible the Great Survey Map would at once settle the matter just as a reference to a dictionary settles the spelling of a word. But so rich a harvest of work from so short an expedition was wholly unexpected and was received with great satisfaction.

GREAT SYNAGOGUE AT KEFR 'BIRÎM.




A fuller paper on the Synagogues of Galilee, was written by Captain Wilson, and published originally in the second number of the *Quarterly Statement*, in the year 1869. It was republished with a paper by Captain Kitchener, in the volume of the "Survey of Western Palestine," called "Special Papers."

# CHAPTER IV.

## THE EXCAVATIONS AT JERUSALEM.

It was in May, 1867, that Lieutenant Warren, R.E., left England, charged with the duty of conducting excavations at Jerusalem, in the hope of settling once

# JERUSALEM.

SHEWING THE VARIOUS THEORIES AS TO THE WALLS.

1ST OR OLD WALL

2ND WALL

3RD AGRIPPA'S WALL

SO CALLED TOMBS OF THE KINGS

Harrison & Sons, Lith. St Martins Lane, W.C

for all the controversies on the Holy sites. The questions under dispute were chiefly these :—

1. The site of the Temple within the walls of the enclosure, known as the Haram esh Sherîf.
2. The site of Constantine's Church of the Anastasis, with which was involved the site, true and traditional, of the Holy Sepulchre.
3. The course of the First, Second, and Third Wall, which involved the site of the towers of Hippicus, Phasaelus, Mariamne, and Psephinus. The course of the Second Wall is also closely connected with the site of the Holy Sepulchre.
4. The Gates of the Walls.
5. The date of the erection of the Dome of the Rock.
6. The position of the tower of Antonia, the Gate Beautiful, the course of the Tyropœon valley, Millo, Acra, the Pool of Bethesda, the Gate Gennath, and many other places.

As regards the controversialists, they have been so numerous that at least as many as sixteen different reconstructions of the ancient city have been proposed. Robinson, who began first to doubt the traditional sites, argued that the Second Wall must have included the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which, therefore, could not be built on the true site. Fergusson, who first advanced

his theories in the year 1847, and subsequently was permitted to advocate them in "Smith's Dictionary of the Bible," in 1865, contended that the Dome of the Rock in the Temple enclosure is nothing else than Constantine's Basilica, that the cave which it covers is the Holy Sepulchre itself, that the present traditional site was fraudulently assumed by the monks, in order to keep up the flow of pilgrims; and that the Temple itself was built in the south-west corner of the Haram Area. He was followed in the main, though not altogether, by Lewin, Thrupp, and others, while his principal opponents were at that time Prof. Willis, George Williams, and Finlay.

The arguments used for and against the various theories were based upon the following authorities :—

1. The topographical references scattered about in the Bible.
2. The descriptions of Josephus.
3. The Rabbinical writings.
4. The notices of the city found in other ancient authors, and especially those of the early Christian writers, such as Jerome, Eusebius, Cyril, and Origen.
5. Ecclesiastical history.
6. The travels of early pilgrims.
7. The lie of the ground.
8. The architectural evidence.
9. Tradition.

As regards the first six sources of information, the writers of 1865 were in just as good a position as those of the present year, except in one or two particulars. Thus, the list of early pilgrims has been increased by the discovery of another MS. or two, and a better text is now accessible. There was not, probably, living then, nor is there living now, any one man, if we may except Dr. Robinson, who had gone through the long collection of Byzantine writings in order to extract the references to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, though Williams quotes a few passages—he does not say whether he found them himself—from Cedrenus and others. No one then—again excepting Robinson—had systematically read and examined the early Arabic travellers and historians, though quotations were made by Williams in his "Holy City" from one or two and those at second hand. This work has now been undertaken by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, a branch of the Fund. Twenty years ago it was customary to sneer at the exaggerations of Josephus. Recent discoveries have, however, proved that in some cases at least he is very near the truth. And there was so general a disposition to decry the weight of Rabbinical authority, that, in the Jerusalem article of Smith's Bible Dictionary, it is laid down as a general proposition that the authority of the Rabbis "is so questionable that it is of

the least possible consequence what they said or meant." It is now, however, admitted, and has been proved in a very remarkable paper lately published in the Journal of the Society, that the statements of the Rabbis, so far from being of no consequence, are valuable and important to the highest degree.

Next, as regards the lie of the ground. That was everywhere unknown. Wilson in his tentative excavations had clearly proved that the modern city stands upon many feet of rubbish: George Williams speaks of twenty feet of rubbish: the original Prospectus speaks of sixty feet: and everybody knew that there were vast quantities of *débris* lying outside the city walls, but no one knew the depth of this rubbish. The course of the Tyropœon valley, on which the course of the Second Wall depends, was unknown, while Fergusson, in his Jerusalem article, states positively, as if it was a well-known and indisputable fact, that all along the south wall of the Temple the rock was everywhere visible; the truth, as now known, being that it is visible at one point only, being buried a hundred feet deep at the two extremities—east and west. Also in placing the Temple in the south-west corner of the Haram Area, Fergusson, thinking that it was a level area, placed it upon a slope of one in five, unless, as has been conjectured, a cliff existed at this spot.

As regards the architectural argument, Fergusson's theory may be thus briefly stated :—

1. The architecture of the Dome of the Rock is Byzantine, and is of the time of Constantine.
2. Therefore it must be the Basilica of the Anastasis.
3. Therefore it covers the true site of the Holy Sepulchre, and therefore the present traditional site must be a forgery of the monks.
4. Therefore this spot must have been within the walls of the city.
5. Therefore the Temple must necessarily have been in the south-west corner, because there is no other place in which to put it.
6. Therefore the present east wall of the Haram must have been part of the Third Wall of the City.

De Vogüé, on the other hand, declared his opinion that the Dome of the Rock was really and truly built, as all the Arab historians agree in stating, and the inscription within it declares, by Abd el Melek; but that it was constructed for him by Byzantine architects, the Arabs themselves being incapable of any architecture. De Vogüé was supported in this opinion by the late Professor Willis, an architectural authority of the highest rank. It remains to be seen what view will be taken of the subject by future writers.

As for the value of tradition, there are some who

place the highest value on tradition when it seems to be uninterrupted. Now the site fixed upon by Constantine's advisers, as that of the Holy Sepulchre, does seem, to many of those who have examined into the question, determined by an unbroken catena of evidence extending from the middle of the fourth century until the present day. Unfortunately, however, there is not a single whisper of tradition concerning that site before the fourth century.

Captain Conder, however, has laid down an axiom on tradition, the value of which was not recognised twenty years ago. It is this, that *when the traditions of Jew, Christian, and Moslem unite there is strong presumption for believing that they are right.*

No one doubts, for instance, the site of Hebron, Rachel's Tomb, and Jacob's Well, while only the Greek Christians believe in the yearly miracle of the Holy Fire, and the hundred and one legends with which they have surrounded the Holy places.

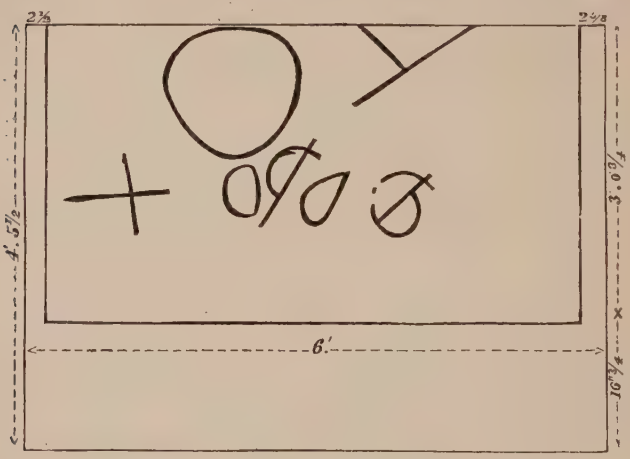
Warren's excavations were continued from February, 1867 till April, 1870, a period of about three years.

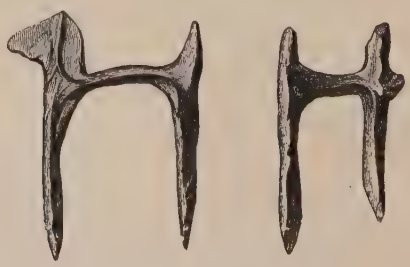
Since the year 1870 a good deal of work has been

done by Captain Conder, M. Clermont Ganneau, Herr Conrad Schick, Herr Guthe (for the German Society), Dr. Chaplin, and the Russians. The whole of this work has now been summarized and arranged by Sir Charles Warren and Captain Conder, and published in the volume entitled "Jerusalem," forming part of the great work, "The Survey of Western Palestine." This book is a great deal more than a description of the excavations; it is the most comprehensive and complete work on the Holy City ever published; it contains a chronological synopsis of the history of the city; an account of all its architectural monuments, with the earliest accounts of the buildings, a statement of the controversy concerning the disputed sites; and a complete account of the excavations and their results, with all the work that has been carried on in the city since Warren's time. The volume is accompanied by a portfolio containing sixty sheets of drawings and plans most of which have never before appeared. It is impossible here to do more than recapitulate the principal results of excavations which are without parallel for the difficulties presented, and the courage displayed in overcoming them.

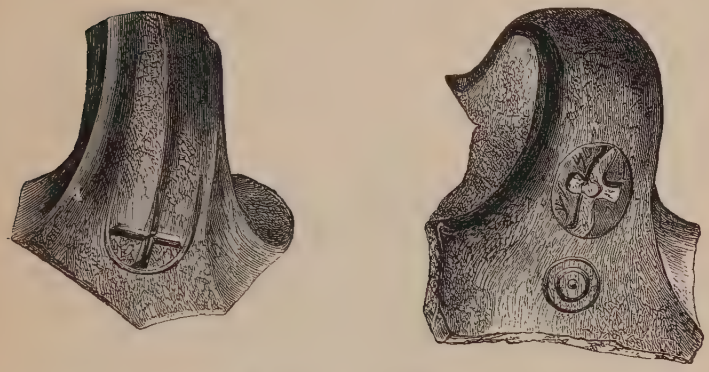
As regards the walls of the Temple Area, Warren proved that this colossal work is covered up with *débris* in some places to a depth of 100 feet, and in one place to a depth of 125 feet below the present

surface of the ground. The foundations were laid bare, by means of deep shafts sunk through the *débris*, and it was proved that the stones had been lowered into their places, ready dressed; that the dressing of the stones is not uniform, for in some parts they present a rough face with a marginal draft, and in others a smooth face also with a marginal draft. The corner stones are from 14 to 15 feet in length,



Characters in Lowest Stones, S.E. wall.



Inscribed Jar Handles.

and from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height; in some of those at the S.E. angle Phœnician characters were found —jar handles were also found here with Phœnician characters which are variously interpreted; the arch called Robinson's arch was proved to have been the last of a series of arches leading to the Temple from the Upper City, the voussoirs of two arches, one constructed after the other had fallen in, were lying buried in the ground beneath it. Excavations were also made at Wilson's arch higher up on the same side of the wall and disclosed a series of rock-cut chambers, the purpose of which is unknown, with a broad subterranean passage evidently designed for the secret passage of troops from the citadel to the Temple in case of need. A single course of great stones was found to run from the south-east angle to the Double Gate; and the so-called Solomon's Stables were proved to be a

comparatively modern re-construction. The alleged great wall 600 feet from the south-west angle (*see* Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," art. Jerusalem) was proved to have no existence. The wall of Ophel was

Gallery near E. wall.

found and traced for a long distance. An aqueduct was found on the west side older than the portion of the wall at the south-west angle; the Tyropœon valley was followed up, and rock levels have been obtained showing

the contour of the whole city except at one point namely, that within the south-west front of the Haram Area, concerning which there is still some uncertainty. These points have been enumerated because they bear specially on the problem of the site of the Temple. The conclusions drawn from the facts by Sir Charles Warren are that the oldest portion of the wall is the south-east part and the south as far as the Double Gate; that Solomon's palace stood in the south-east, and that the south-west was built by Herod; and that the Temple stood in the middle; where, in fact, Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan tradition all unite in placing it.

Since these excavations many curious and valuable discoveries and observations have been made. Thus, the capitals in the Dome of the Rock have been accurately sketched, the Kalât Jalud and the Tower of David have been examined. The First Wall on the south of Mount Zion has been discovered and traced by Henry Maudslay, C.E.; the existence of ancient tombs below the church of the Holy Sepulchre has been proved and the tombs planned, and the whole of the country round the city has been carefully explored and described.

New things are continually being found in Jerusalem, *e.g.*, the ancient wall discovered this very year, which may very likely turn out to be the Second Wall; new discoveries connected with the old walls

with the Temple, and with the various occupiers of the city, but it is certain that nothing will ever be

Capitals supporting the Dome of the Rock.

done in the future to compare with what was done by Warren. Before he dug there, the ancient city was measured by the modern the "sleepy little Jebusite

Lamps found in the Excavations.

town," as it has been called. The proud words of Josephus, the passionate love of the Jews for their city, and their praise of its ancient glories, seemed exaggerated and absurd in presence of those grey walls and those narrow limits. It was Warren who restored the ancient city to the world; he it was who stripped the rubbish from the rocks, and showed the glorious Temple standing within its walls, 1,000 feet long and 200 feet high, of mighty masonry; he it was who laid open the valleys now covered up and hidden; he who opened the secret passages, the ancient aqueducts, the bridge connecting temple and town. Whatever else may be done in the future, his name will always be associated with the Holy City which he first recovered. Many questions, it is true, still remain unanswered, many gaps in our knowledge have to be filled up, but, in the main features, those who have followed Warren and Conder in their statement of facts and their conclusions, and who agree with them, have no longer any doubt as to the position of the Temple, and the real builders of the Kubbet es Sakhra.

As regards the true and actual site of the Holy Sepulchre there are four schools.

1. Those who believe that the site fixed on for the buildings of Constantine was the true site, well known to and remembered by Christians from the very beginning, and that it is the site now shown.

2. Those who think, with Fergusson, that Constantine's site was that now covered by the Dome of the Rock, and that it was the true one, well known to Christians of his time.
3. Those who think that Constantine's site is that now called the Holy Sepulchre, but that in his time the Christians knew no more about the real site than we ourselves know.
4. Those who believe that the true site is that proposed by Captain Conder, outside the present walls.

If the Second Wall be proved to include the present church, then the first school are for ever silenced, and the present traditional sites are for ever abolished. If Warren, Conder, Palmer, and others who believe the Dome of the Rock to have been built by Abd el Melek be right, then the second school is silenced. Of the third opinion, nothing need here be said, except that it is undoubtedly certain that no reference whatever is made to the site of the Holy Sepulchre before the time of Eusebius, although Christians were, much earlier than this time, in the habit of making pilgrimages to the site of the Ascension. As to the fourth opinion, Conder's suggestions may be read in the *Quarterly Statement.* If they do not carry conviction they make out a very strong case for the position of the Tomb in the immediate vicinity to that proposed.

# CHAPTER V.

## THE DESERT OF THE EXODUS.

In the year 1870 an examination was made of a part of the Desert of the Tîh which had often been crossed but never explored. (*Quarterly Statement*, January, 1871.) Prof. Palmer undertook the work accompanied by Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, both now, unhappily, deceased.

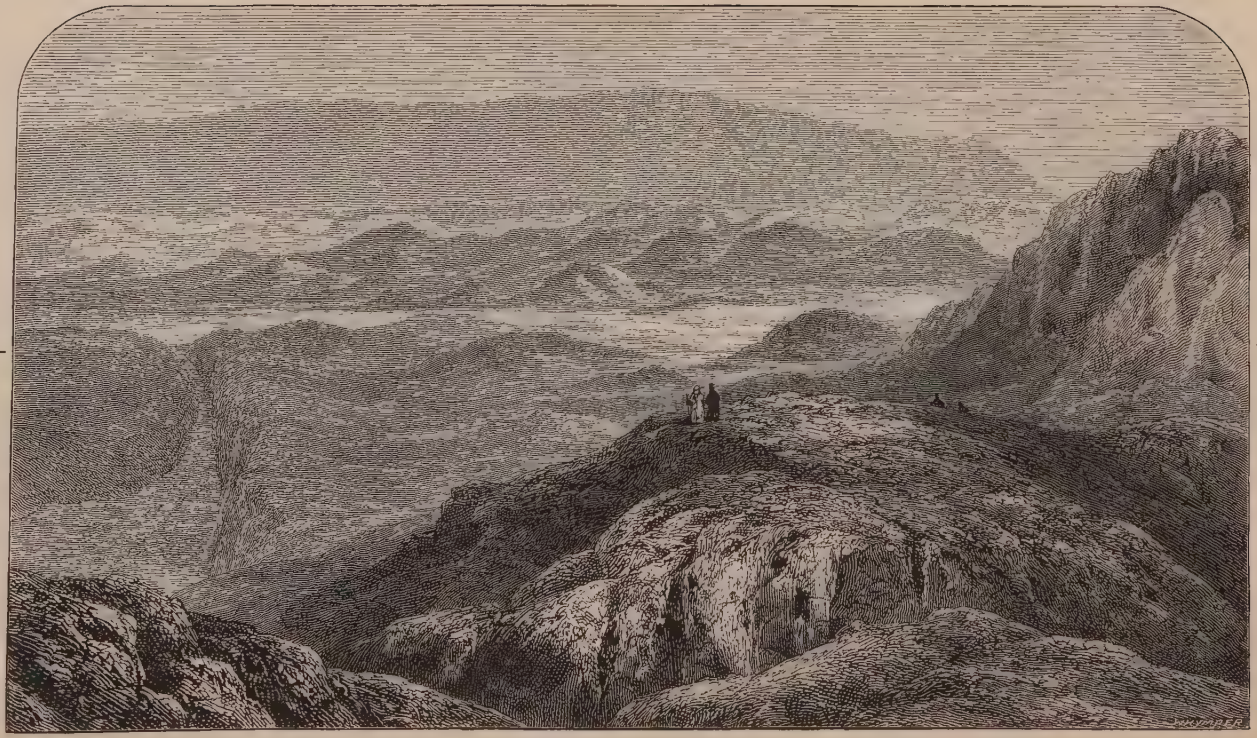
They travelled alone, on foot, and with no servants, being dressed as Syrians, and depending only on the escort of the camel drivers, who were changed from tribe to tribe, and on their own knowledge of the language and customs of the natives.

The result of the expedition may be briefly summed up.

I. Præhistoric monuments.

They found scattered about numerous *nawâmîs* ("mosquito houses") similar to those which exist in the Peninsula of Sinai. These are circular constructions about ten feet in diameter, built of unhewn stones and covered with a carefully constructed dome-shaped roof, the top of which is closed by a large slab

[To face p. 65.




Pass between Jebels Magrah and Jerâfeh. (*From a sketch by the late Rev. F. W. Holland.*)

View looking eastwards across the Jerâfeh Valley to the opposite Mountains.

of stone and the sides weighted to prevent them springing out; the entrance is by a low door, two feet high. They are like the "bothan" of the Shetland Isles.

They found many large stone circles, some a hundred feet in diameter, having in the centre a cist covered with a heap of boulders. In the cists were human skeletons.

Beside these sepulchral rings were traces of the deserted buildings of the people buried in them. They are collections of circles enclosed within rudely shaped walls, probably permanent camps of a pastoral people. We have here, probably, the Hazeroth of the Bible (Numbers xi. 35, Deuteronomy i. 1). The Moors in Morocco to this day construct camping grounds exactly similar. On the hills about the Wady Muweileh were found among cairns and ancient dwellings, a great number of well made heaps of stone placed with regularity along the edge of the cliff and all facing east. These it is supposed are ancient altars of Baal, the Sun god.

II. Biblical sites.

1. The site of Kibroth Hattaavah (Numbers xi. 33–35).

The place proposed for this important identification now called Erweis el Ebierig, is an elevated ground, admirably adapted for the assemblage of a large concourse of people, and covered for miles round with traces of such an assemblage and sojourn.

It is according to tradition the camp of a great Hajj caravan which in remote ages sojourned here and were afterwards lost and never heard of again. The distance is exactly a day's journey from 'Ain Hudherah.

2. The site of Haradeh (Numbers xxxiii. 24).

The place proposed is now called Jebel 'Aradeh.

3. Eshcol (Numbers xiii. 23, 24).

This place has generally been identified with Hebron, but Palmer found evidence that the vineyards formerly extended a long way south of that city, and that there is no need to place Eshcol so far north.

4. Hagar's Well (Genesis xxi. 19).

Identified with a spring in the Wady Muweileh.

5. Kadesh Barnea (Genesis xiv. 7; Numbers xiii. 3–26; xiv. 29–33; xx. 1; Deuteronomy ii. 14).

Palmer agreed with those who would place Kadesh in the region near where Rowlands made his discovery in the year 1840, but he failed to find Rowlands's great spring, which was not re-discovered for many years afterwards, when the Rev. F. W. Holland first,* and Dr. Clay Trumbull, an American traveller, secondly,† were so fortunate as to find it. The place and its associations are related by Mr. Trumbull in an excellent monograph called

* May 14, 1878. See *Quarterly Statement*, 1884, p. 9.

† March 30th, 1881.

[*To face p.* 67.

Kadesh Barnea.

"Kadesh Barnea" (New York, 1884), from which the following eloquent account is quoted:—

Out from the barren and desolate stretch of the burning desert-waste, we had come with a magical suddenness into an oasis of verdure and beauty, unlooked for and hardly conceivable in such a region. A carpet of grass covered the ground. Fig trees, laden with fruit nearly ripe enough for eating, were along the shelter of the southern hillside. Shrubs and flowers showed themselves in variety and profusion. Running water gurgled under the waving grass. We had seen nothing like it since leaving Wady Fayrân; nor was it equalled in loveliness of scene by any single bit of landscape, of like extent, even there.

Standing out from the earth-covered limestone hills at the north-eastern sweep of this picturesque recess, was to be seen the "large single mass, or a small hill, of solid rock,"* which Rowlands looked at as the cliff (*Sel'a*) smitted by Moses, to cause it to "give forth his water,"† when its flowing stream had been exhausted. From underneath this ragged spur of the north easterly mountain range, issued the now abundant stream.

A circular well, stoned-up from the bottom with time-worn limestone blocks, was the first receptacle of the water. A marble watering trough was near this well—better finished than the troughs at Beersheeba, but of like primitive workmanship. The mouth of this well was only about three feet across, and the water came to within three or four feet of the top. A little distance westerly from this well, and down the slope, was a second well, stoned-up much like the first, but of greater diameter; and here again was a marble watering trough. A basin or pool of water larger than either of the wells, but not stoned-up like

* William's *Holy City*, p. 490 *f*. † Numbers xx. 8.

them, was seemingly the principal watering place. It was a short distance south-westerly from the second well, and it looked as if it and the two wells might be supplied from the same subterranean source—the springs under the Rock. Around the margin of this pool, as also around the stoned wells, camel and goat dung—as if of flock and herds for centuries—was trodden down and commingled with the lime stone dust so as to form a solid plaster-bed. Another and yet larger pool, lower down the slope was supplied with water by a stream which rippled and cascaded along its narrow bed from the upper pool; and yet beyond this, westward, the water gurgled away under the grass, as we had met it when we came in, and finally lost itself in the parching wady from which this oasis opened. The water itself was remarkably pure and sweet; unequalled by any we had found after leaving the Nile.

There was a New England look to this oasis, especially in the flowers and grass and weeds; quite unlike anything we had seen in the peninsula of Sinai. Bees were humming there, and birds were flitting from tree to tree. Enormous ant hills made of green grass-seed, instead of sand, were numerous. As we came into the wady we had started up a hare, and had seen larks and quails. It was in fact hard to realise that we were in the desert or even near it. The delicious repose of the spot, after our journey over the arid, gravel-waste under the blazing mid-day sun, was most refreshing. The water itself was hardly less of a blessing to us than to the Israelites when it flowed and murmured anew for them after their murmurings. We seated ourselves in the delightful shade of one of the hills not far from the wells, and enjoyed our lunch, with the music of brook and bees and birds sounding pleasantly in our ears. Our Arabs seemed to feel the soothing influence of the place; and to have lost all fear of the 'Azâzimeh, even when

the danger from them was probably greatest. After a brief rest on the grass, they all stripped, and plunged into the lower and larger pool for a bath.

One thing was sure; all that Rowlands had said of this oasis was abundantly justified by the facts. His enthusiasm and his active imagination had not coloured in the slightest his picture of the scene now before us. The sneers which other travellers had indulged in, over the creation of his heated fancies, were the result of their own lack of knowledge—and charity. And as to the name of the oasis, about which Robinson and others were so incredulous, it is Qadees (قديس), as it was written for me in Arabic by my intelligent Arab dragoman, a similar name to that of Jerusalem, El-Quds, the Holy; the equivalent of the Hebrew Kadesh.

6. Zephath (Judges i. 17).

The name of Sebâta had been given to Rowlands, but no one else had ever heard it, and the place had never been visited. Palmer, however, found not only the name, under the form of Sebaita, but also the Watch Tower (Zephath) which gave the name to the city. The ruins are those of a large town, 500 yards long by 300 wide (modern Jerusalem within the walls is only about 1,100 yards across either north and south, or east and west). There are the ruins of three churches, a tower, and two reservoirs for water. No timber was used, the absence of wood being supplied by thick beams of stone as in the staircase. The place is three miles from the fortress, which according to Palmer's theory, gave it the name of the "Watch Tower."

This is one of the most remarkable examples of the tenacity of the ancient names. It is 3,500 years since "Judah, with Simon his brother," changed the name from Zephath to Hormah. The country has been successively Jewish, Roman, Christian, Mohammedan, Christian again, and Mohammedan again. Yet here is the original name surviving still.

7. The Wells of Rehoboth (Genesis xxvi. 22).

In Wady Ruheibeh, Dr. Robertson could find no wells at all. Dr. Stewart found one. Dr. Rowlands found one. Palmer and Drake, after some search, discovered a well covered over by a piece of fallen masonry. The two wells of Genesis xxvi. 21, 22, were called Sitnah and Esek. On the left of the Wady Ruheibeh there is a small valley called Shutnet er Ruheibeh, in which is still found the word Sitnah.

8. Aroer of Judah (1 Samuel xxx. 28).

This is in the Wady Ararah, a few walls only remaining.

9. Elusa.

This place, laid down in the Peutinger Tables, was identified by Robinson with Khalasah. But Robinson did not visit it, and laid it down incorrectly. Palmer found it to be a shapeless mass of ruins.

10. The Wells of Beersheba (Genesis xxi. 14, &c.).

Here Palmer found the hill side covered with ruins,

among them the remains of a Greek church (*see* p. 101).

11. Hora, a large ruin with caves, cisterns, and flint-built houses.

12. Datreiyeh, built of solid masonry, and on arches.

13. Ed Dhaheriyeh, an old city of the Horites or Cave Dwellers. (Conder's Debir.)

14. Abdeh, the ancient Eboda.

This place was visited for the first time by Palmer.

15. El 'Aujeh.

The ruins contain a church with heaps of broken walls and half destroyed wells.

III. The recovery of the geographical divisions of the Negeb or South country. Thus,

1. In the low country north and west of Beersheba we recognise Negeb of the Cherethites.

2. South of Hebron, in the outposts of the hills of Judah, we can identify the Negeb of Judah, the ruined cities of Tel Zif, Maín, and Kurmul, indicating the locality of the Negeb of Caleb.

3. Tel Arad and its adjacent plains form the Negeb of the Kenites, probably extending to the south-western end of the Dead Sea.

4. Between Wady Rukhmeh in the north, and Wadies El Abyadh, Marreh, and Madarah, in the south, lay the Negeb of Jerahmeel.

The mountains of the Azazimêh were not included in the Negeb.

These are the principal results of a very remarkable and fruitful expedition, which was afterwards continued through Edom and Moab, with visits to Petra, Mount Hor, the Lisán, and Kerak. The complete examination of this district, with excavations in the ruins, will be undertaken, it is hoped, in the immediate future.

# CHAPTER VI.

## THE SURVEY OF WESTERN PALESTINE.

WE now come to the Survey of Western Palestine, the work of which we have the most reason to be proud, because it has in every respect answered all our expectations.

As regards previous geographical work in the Holy Land, the earliest maps worthy of mention are those of D'Anville (L'Empire Turc) and Rennell's Geography of Western Asia. A map of Palestine and Syria was prepared by Napoleon I., and the Admiralty survey of the coast included a certain amount of survey work of the interior. The first attempt to classify and portray in a systematic manner the results obtained by earlier travellers was in the map of Berghaus (Karte von Syrien) published in the year 1835. Among those travellers are the well-known Clarke, Seetzen, Burckhardt, Irby and Mangles, Catherwood, Wellsted, and others. In 1836-37, Von Schubert travelled through the country and added considerably to the knowledge of its natural history and scenery. In 1838 Russegger collected a great quantity of geological information. In the same year Robinson and Smith

made their first journey through the country from Sinai to Damascus. Robinson had prepared himself by fifteen years of study. The map which resulted from his observations entirely superseded Berghaus, while his account of his travels was, up to the appearance of our new map with the Memoirs, the text-book of all students of Biblical geography.

In 1841 Lieutenant Symonds, R.E., made a triangulation from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and from there to the Dead Sea; and another from Cape Blanco to Safed and the Sea of Galilee. Sketches were also made at the same time by Scott, Robe, and Wilbraham. In 1847 Lieutenant Molyneux descended the Jordan from Galilee to the Dead Sea, but unfortunately died from the effects of exposure to the sun. Lynch, who followed him in 1848, executed a rough sketch of the course of the Jordan and a chart of the Dead Sea. In 1850 the western and southern shores of the Dead Sea were visited by M. De Saulcy; in 1851-52 Van de Velde first visited the country; in 1852 Robinson and Eli Smith made a second journey; in 1853 Dean Stanley made his first journey; in 1850-55, Dr. Porter lived in the country; in 1855 Mr. Poole investigated the western and southern shores; in 1857, Mr. Cyril Graham travelled in the Hauran and the district of the El Harrah; in 1858 Herr Wetzstein also visited the Haurán; in 1860-61, the French troops being in Syria, certain reconnais-

sances were made, afterwards embodied in the Carte du Liban; Captain Mansel, R.N. at the same time made an Admiralty survey of the coast. In the years 1861-62, Van de Velde made a second visit to the country, and in 1863 Dean Stanley also visited it again. In 1863-64 Canon Tristram travelled through Palestine, and at the same time the Duc de Luynes took a party into the country, among whom were Lieutenant Vogues of the French navy, and M. Lartet. The former executed a map of the Dead Sea and the Arabah, while the latter published a work on the geology of Palestine, which is of the highest value. In 1870 Captains Mieulet and Derrien, of the French Etat Major, began what was intended to be a survey of the whole country, but were recalled by the outbreak of the Franco-German war.

So much then, not including Wilson and Anderson's work of 1865 and the reconnaissance of Warren in 1867-1870, had been done for the geography of Palestine before the survey.

At the commencement, and in order to set forth the need of such a survey, there was prepared a comparative map showing first a portion of Palestine, including a small piece of country surveyed by Wilson, and beside it a corresponding portion from the ordnance survey of Kent. The map of Van de Velde was at that time the best of all maps of Palestine; it was the work of a careful

and scientific traveller and scholar, who not only took observations himself, but laid down on his map all the observations made by previous travellers. We had before the meeting of June 22nd, 1886, an enlargement of a portion of Van de Velde's map, and beside it, an enlargement of the Society's survey of the same portion. The first, with its hills roughly sketched in, its valleys laid down roughly, and its inhabited places, villages, or ruins, gives absolutely all that was known of this piece of country before the survey. It was on such a map as this, the best at the time, because the most faithful, that the geographical student had to work. There was little use from a geographical point of view in consulting previous books of travel, because they gave no facts other than had been taken from them and laid down upon the map by Van de Velde; hardly any single place was laid down correctly; none of the hill shading was accurate; the course of the rivers and valleys was not to be depended upon; the depression of the Lake of Galilee was variously stated; distances were estimated by the rough reckoning of time taken from place to place; and out of the 10,000 names collected by our officers and laid upon our map, Van de Velde's had about 1,800, while the general index of names given by Robinson shows only 1712 names. Not a single position certain; not a single distance trustworthy; not a range of hills, not

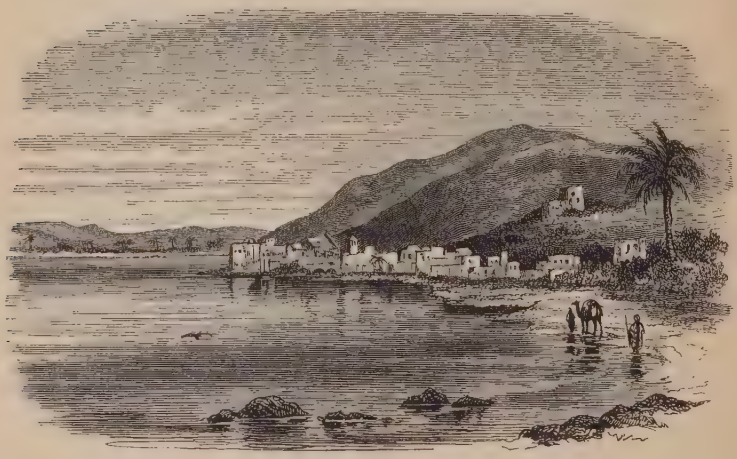
a river or a wady correctly laid down; and only an eighth part of the modern names collected, and this for a country where the ancient names survive with a most remarkable vitality, clinging under changed forms to the old sites; where the history which these lands illustrate is singularly minute, and assumes everywhere a knowledge of the country, so that the writer never stops to explain where the scene of every episode occurs, except to name it as a spot already known, and where the boundaries of the tribes cannot possibly be laid down without an exact knowledge of those features which in every country constitute the natural boundaries.

It was to remedy this state of things that the survey was undertaken. The first officer in command was Captain Stewart, R.E. With him was associated Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, attached partly as a naturalist, partly as archæologist, and partly on account of his knowledge of the country and the people, having been on expeditions previously, once with Captain Burton in North Syria,* and once with Professor Palmer through the Desert of the Tih (see *supra* chapter V.).

Captain Stewart, however, was unfortunately invalided home and obliged to resign almost at the very outset. Sergeants Black and Armstrong, his assistants, began and carried on the work until the arrival of

* See "Unexplored Syria," by Burton and Drake, 1872.

Lieutenant Conder, R.E. The survey went on without interruption until June, 1874, when Mr. Drake was attacked by fever and died. His place was taken by Lieutenant Kitchener, R.E. The next interruption, four-fifths of the work being then accomplished, was in July, 1875, when the party were attacked by the Safed people and compelled to retreat to Haifa



Here Captain Conder remained to fight the case in the Turkish courts, and on obtaining a sentence and fine for the assailants, returned to England, where the party were occupied with field work at home.

In 1877, Lieutenant Kitchener went out again and finished the survey, returning home in 1878. The work was accomplished under great pressure and in

a time of great excitement. The principal discoveries made by Captain Kitchener in this part of the survey, which included the greater part of Galilee, were of a previously unknown synagogue, two cromlechs and a large number of ruins. The two cromlechs, together

Cromlech in Galilee.

with a rude stone monument discovered by Mr. Laurence Oliphant in the hilly country of Eastern Judea, are the only old stone monuments remaining in Western Palestine.

The map when completed was photo-lithographed by the Ordnance Survey Department at Southampton. It was published in 1880. A reduction was made on the scale of 8 miles to 3 inches, and engraved for the Committee by Mr. Edward Stanford, a truly beautiful piece of work, and one which reflects the greatest credit on the engraver.

The memoirs which were intended to accompany this work were compiled from their note books by Captains

Conder and Kitchener during the years 1876-80, and are published in the "Survey of Western Palestine" (1880-84).

The BIBLICAL GAINS from the survey may be considered from many points of view.

First, therefore, from that of the recovery of ancient sites. There are 622 Biblical names west of the Jordan. Of these 262 were known before the Survey was commenced, that is, rather more than a third. During the Survey no fewer than 172 were discovered, and are now generally accepted. So that of the whole number of places now identified, namely 434, almost exactly two-fifths are due to the Survey. There still remain 188 places hitherto undiscovered. Some of these may lie among the 10,000 names collected by the surveyors. Others may still be discovered, because we cannot pretend in a country so full of names to have collected every one. But those which yet await recovery are for the most part obscure places mentioned perhaps once or twice, such as the Brook Besor (1 Samuel xxx. 9, 10, 21), Avim (Joshua xviii. 23), or Eleph (Joshua xviii. 28). Some names not yet found are important, such as Arimathœa, Gath, the Brook Cherith, Eshcol, the stone Ezel, Gethsemane, Nob, Mamre, and Ziklag. It is to be hoped that all these names will, one by one, be rescued from oblivion.

As regards the natural features of the country, the

Survey has substituted exact detail for general statements. It is impossible in these short limits to explain the enormous importance of this to the historical student. The boundaries of tribes; the march of armies; the route of travellers and pilgrims; the way of commerce; intercourse with foreign nations; the fords, passes, and valleys open for an invader,—these things form the foundation of Bible history; without these things its history cannot be understood. And these things are found legible to him that can read maps on our great survey. A few instances, however, may be adduced. The ancient and royal city of Tirzah, the residence of Jeroboam and his successors—"beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem"—is one of the places recovered by the survey.

Just twelve miles east of our Jeb'a camp, on a plateau where the valleys begin to dip suddenly towards Jordan, stands the mud hamlet of Teiâsîr. We afterwards visited it from the Jordan camp, and found it to have been once a place of importance, judging from the numerous rock-cut sepulchres burrowing under the houses, the fertile lands and fine olives round, and the monument of good masonry, seemingly a Roman tomb. Just north of it we discovered a ruin called Ibzîk, which is unquestionably a Bezek known to Eusebius, and probably the place where Saul collected his army before attacking the Ammonites (1 Samuel xi. 8).

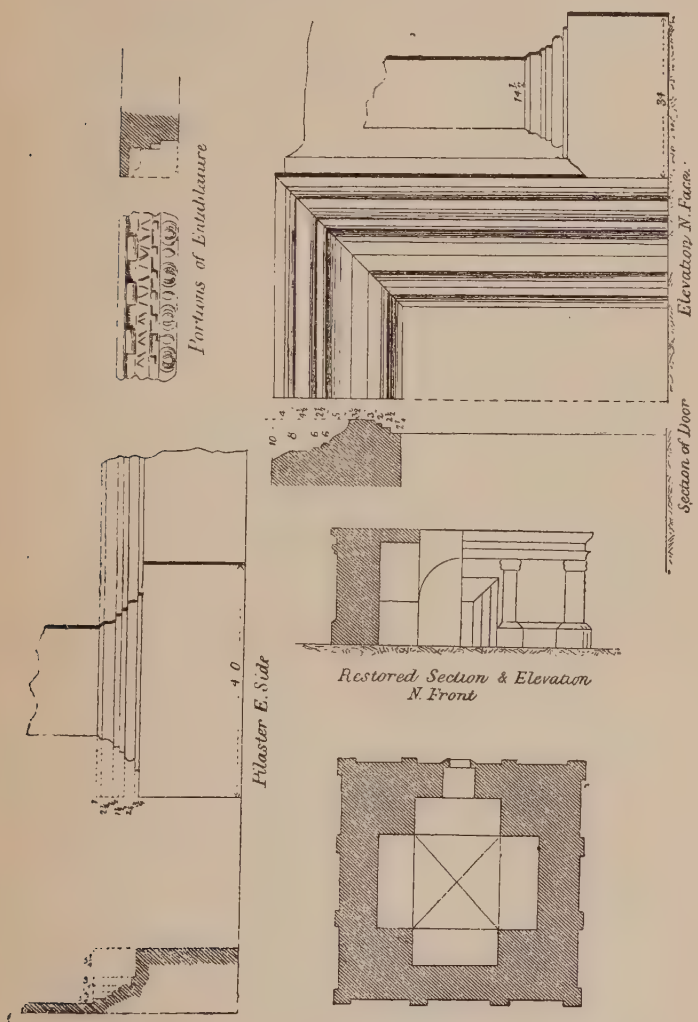
In the latter ruin is a little chapel dedicated to Neby Hazkîn, "the Prophet Ezekiel," and the high mountain crowned with thicket behind is called "Ezekiel's Mountain."

This name Teiâsîr I suppose to be Tirzah. It contains the exact letters of the Hebrew word, though the two last radicals are interchanged in position, a kind of change not unusual among the peasantry. The beauty of the position and the richness of the plain on the west, the ancient remains, and the old main road to the place from Shechem seem to agree well with the idea of its having once been a capital; and if I am right in the suggestion, then the old sepulchres are probably, some of them, those of the early kings of Israel before the royal family began to be buried in Samaria.

Or, as an illustration of how the map and a description together help to restore the past, read what Captain Conder says of the defeat and flight of Sisera.

The subject which naturally concludes the account of the Plain, is therefore the great battle in which the host of Sisera was drowned in the swollen waters of this river.

The amount of light which can now be thrown on this episode is very great. The topography has hitherto been obscure, but the survey does much to explain it. To suppose that Sisera fled from the Great Plain to the neighbourhood of Kedes in Upper Galilee (a distance of over thirty miles) has always appeared to me to be contrary to what we know of the general character of the Biblical stories, the scenes of which are always laid in a very confined area; nor has the name of the plain, Bitzaanaim, near Kedesh, been recovered in this direction. Bitzaanaim was a town of Issachar, near Adami (Ed Dâmieh) and should therefore be sought east of Tabor in the plateau over the Sea of Galilee, where we still find it in the modern Bessûm. The Kedesh of the narrative where Barak assembled his troops is therefore probably Kedîsh on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, only twelve miles from Tabor. There is thus,




Tomb at Teiâsir.

from a military point of view, a consistency in the advance to Tabor (a strong position in the line by which the enemy was approaching), which is lacking if we suppose a descent from the stronger hills of Upper Galilee. The Kings of Canaan assembled in Taanach and by the waters of Megiddo, but it was not at either of these places that the battle was fought. Sisera was drawn to the river Kishon (Judges iv. 7), and the host perished near Endor, "at the brook Kishon" (Psalm lxxxiii. 10). The battle-field indeed was almost identical with that which Napoleon named the "battle of Mount Tabor," when the French drove the Turks into that same treacherous quagmire of the Kishon springs.

There are few episodes in the Old Testament more picturesque than this of the defeat of the Canaanites. Tabor, the central position, a mountain whose summit is 1,500 feet above the plain, is bare and shapeless on the south, but to the north it is steep, and wooded with oaks and thickets in which the fallow-deer finds a home. About three miles west are the springs from which the Kishon first rises, and from this point a chain of pools and springs, fringed with reeds and rushes, marks, even in the dry season, the course of the river. Along this line, at the base of the northern hills, the chariots and horsemen of Sisera fled. The sudden storm had swollen the stream, "the river Kishon swept them away, that river of battles, the river Kishon." The remainder fled to Harosheth, now only a miserable village (El Harathîyeh), named from the beautiful woods above the Kishon at the point where, through a narrow gorge, the stream, hidden among oleander bushes, enters the Plain of Acre.

The flight of Sisera himself was in an opposite direction, under the slopes of Tabor and across the great lava plateau on which stood, near Bessûm, the black tent of Heber the Kenite. The two incidents in the tragedy of his murder

by Jael, which most require illustration are the "milk" and "butter" with which she regaled her victim, and the reasons which, in her eyes, justified the deed.

The Bedawin have a delicious preparation of curdled milk called Leben, which is offered to guests, but generally considered a delicacy; from personal experience I know that it is most refreshing to a traveller when tired and hot, but it has also a strange soporific effect, which was so sudden in its action on one English clergyman after a long ride, that he thought he had been poisoned. It was perhaps not without a knowledge of its probable effects, that Jael gave to her exhausted guest a tempting beverage which would make his sleep sound and long.

The murder of a fugitive and a guest is so contrary to the morality of the Semitic nomads, that we must seek for a very strong justification. It could not have been national enthusiasm which actuated Jael, for she was a Kenite, not a Jewess, one of a nation hostile to Israel, and there "was peace between Jabin King of Hazor (Sisera's master) and the house of Heber the Kenite." The true reason is probably to be sought in Sisera's entering the tent at all. There are instances in later history in which a defeated Arab has sheltered himself in the women's apartments, but such an infringement of Eastern etiquette has always been punished by death; and it is not improbable that in revenge for such an insult Jael seized the iron tent-peg and drove it with the mallet, used to fix the tents to the ground, through Sisera's brain.

One final illustration may be added, suggested to me quite lately by an English clergyman. In the magnificent song of Deborah, the great storm which swelled the Kishon is described:

"They fought from heaven, the stars in their courses fought against Sisera" (Judges v. 20).

The season was probably that of the autumn storms which occur early in November. At this time the meteoric showers are commonest, and are remarkably fine in effect, seen in the evening light at a season when the air is specially clear and bright. The scene presented by the falling fiery stars, as the defeated host fled away by night, is one very striking to the fancy, and which would form a fine subject for an artist's pencil.

Another interesting site is Antipatris, of which Captain Conder writes :—

It was well known in the fourth century, but its site was lost to the Crusaders, who identified it at Arsûf, the ancient Appollonia, where also the more ignorant supposed Ashdod to have stood. It is only within the last twenty years that attention has been directed to the true site.

Josephus describes Antipatris as a city in the plain, close to the hills, in a position well watered, with a river encompassing the city, and with groves of trees. Now, as there is but one river in the plain of Sharon, anywhere near the required part, and as there is on that river but one important ancient site, surrounded by water and near the hills, we can have little doubt as to the locality of the town, first apparently identified by the late Consul Finn, in 1850; but, in addition to this, we have in the old itineraries, various measurements to surrounding places which, though not quite exact, still serve to indicate the same site. They are as follows :

| | | R.M. | | R.M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Antipatris to | Galgula (*Kalkilia*) | 6, | measures | $6\frac{1}{2}$ |
| ,, | Lydda | 10, | ,, | 11 |
| ,, | Betthar (*Tireh*) | 10, | ,, | $9\frac{1}{4}$ |
| ,, | Cæsarea | 28, | ,, | 30 |

These measurements on the survey bring us to the ruined

site of Ras el 'Ain, a large mound covered with ruins from the sides of which on the north and west, the River 'Auian (the Biblical Mejarkon, or "yellow water"), gushes forth, a full-sized stream.

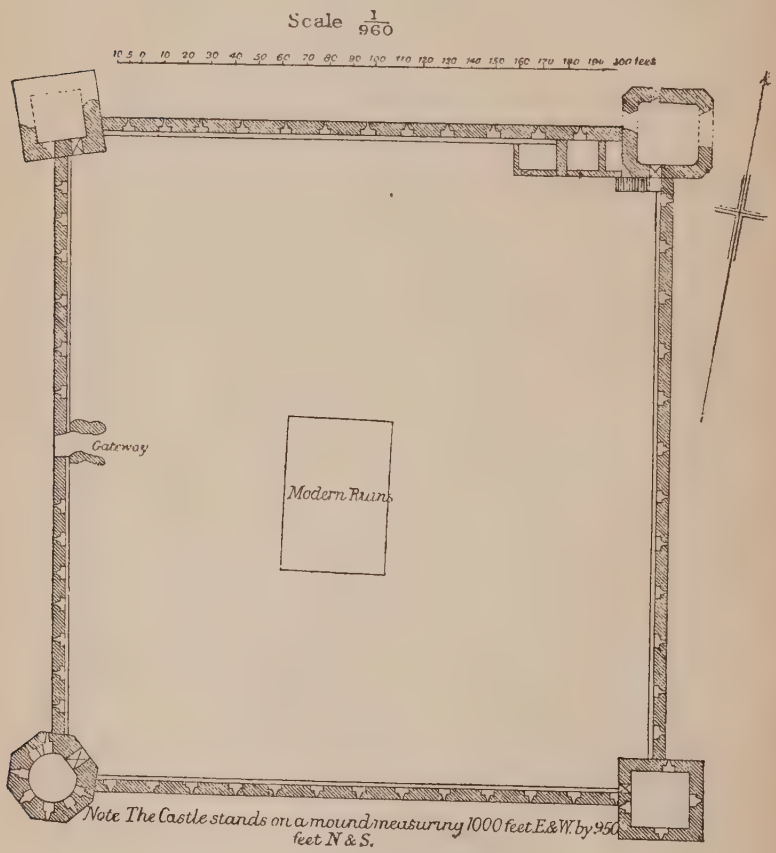
A confusion has arisen between Antipatris and a town called Caphar Saba, in consequence of the loose description, given by Josephus, of a ditch dug by Alexander Balas, "from Cabarzaba, now called Antipatris," to Joppa (Ant. xiii. 15, 1); but the same author afterwards explains that Caphar Saba was a district name, applied to the plain near Antipatris (Ant. xvi. 5, 2).

In the Talmud, the two towns, Antipatris and Caphar Saba, are both noticed in a manner which leaves little doubt that they were separate places. Of Antipatris, we learn that it was a town on the road from Judea to Galilee, the boundary of "the Land" on the side of Samaria; and, as I have noted above, the great boundary actually runs into the plain at this point. But while Antipatris was a Jewish city, Caphar Saba was in the district which was considered foreign ground, as within Samaritan territory, and an idolatrous tree existed there, perhaps now represented by the great sacred tree at Neby Serâkah, close to Kefr Sâba, five and a-half miles north of Râs el 'Ain.

Antipatris, with two other places, Jishub and Patris, is mentioned as a station at the entrance to "the King's Mountain," as the Jews called the Judean hills. This agrees with its situation at the base of the hills, the other places being, perhaps, Sûfîn and Budrus, in the same district.

The site thus fixed by the survey measurements, is one naturally better fitted for an important town than any in the district. The name has indeed vanished, being a Greek title derived from that of Herod's father, and always awkward to the mouths of the natives; but the stream, the

mound of ruins, and the neighbouring hills remain; the deep blue pools of fresh water well up close beneath the




Crusading Castle at Râs el 'Ain.

hillock, surrounded by tall canes, and willows, rushes, and grass. A sort of ragged lawn extends some two hundred yards southwards, and westward the stream flows rapidly

away, burrowing between deep banks, and rolling to the sea, a yellow, turbid, sandy volume of water, unfordable in winter, and never dry, even in summer.

The ruins of Herod's city are now covered with the shell of a great Crusading castle. The knights seem to have taken the name Mirr, or "Passage," applied to a hamlet near the ford, and transformed it into Mirabel, by adding "bel," a word which occurs in the names of several of their fortresses, such as Belfort, Belvoir, &c. The castle is flanked with round towers, and resembles that of Capernaum (near 'Athlît), on a larger scale. It was here that Manasseh, the cousin of Queen Melisenda, was besieged, in 1149, by Baldwin III., and obliged to capitulate. In 1191 Mirabel was dismantled by Saladin, on the approach of King Richard, in common with Plans, Capernaum, and many other castles; nor does it appear to have been subsequently restored.

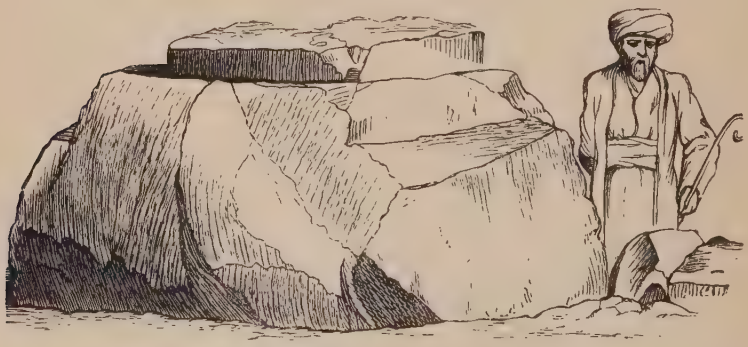
Before the survey it would have seemed hopeless to recover a place mentioned only once, and then in connection with an event of such great antiquity as the career of Samson. Captain Conder, however, found it while in Samson's country.

The substitution of B for M is so common (as in Tibneh for Timnah), that the name "'Atâb" may very properly represent the Hebrew Etam (or "eagle's nest"); and there are other indications of the identity of the site. It is pre-eminently a "rock"—a knoll of hard limestone without a handful of arable soil, standing, above deep ravines, by three small springs. The place is also one which has long been a hiding-place, and the requirements of the Bible story are met in a remarkable way; for the word rendered "top of the Rock Etam" is in reality "cleft" or "chasm"; and such a chasm exists here—a long, narrow

cavern, such as Samson might well have "gone down" into, and which bears the suggestive name Hasûta, meaning "refuge" in Hebrew, but having in modern Arabic no signification at all.

This remarkable "cave of refuge" is two hundred and fifty feet long, eighteen feet wide, and five to eight feet high; its south-west end is under the centre of the modern village; its north-east extremity, where is a rock shaft ten feet deep leading down from the surface of the hill, is within sixty yards of the principal spring.

The identification thus proposed for the Rock Etam is, I believe, quite a new one; and it cannot, I think, fail to be considered satisfactory, if we consider the modern name, the position, and the existence of this remarkable chasm. Ramath Lehi, where the Philistines assembled when searching for Samson (Judges xv. 9–10), is naturally to be sought in the vicinity of Zoreah—Samson's home, and of the Rock Etam where he took refuge.



Rock Altar of Zorah.

A little way north-west of Zoreah, seven miles from Beit 'Atâb, is a low hill, on the slope of which are springs called 'Ayûn Abu Mehârib, or the "fountains of the place of

battles." Close by is a little Moslem chapel, dedicated to Sheikh Nedhîr, or "the Nazarite chief;" and, higher up, a ruin with the extraordinary title Ism Allah—"the name of God." The Nazarite chief is probably Samson, whose memory is so well preserved in this small district, and the place is perhaps connected with a tradition of one of his exploits. The Ism Allah is possibly a corruption of Esm'a Allah—"God heard"—in which case the incident intended will be the battle of Ramath Lehi. Finally, we were informed by a native of the place that he springs were sometimes called 'Ayûn Kâra, in which name we should recognise easily the En Hak-Kore, or "fountain of the crier" (Judges xv. 19).

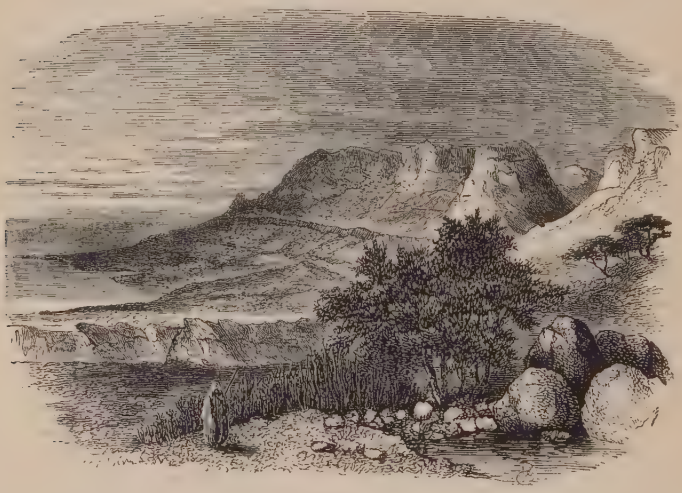
To say that this spot certainly represents Rathmath Lehi —"the hill of the jaw-bone"—would be too bold. It seems, however, clear that a tradition of one of Samson's exploits lingers here; the position is appropriate for the scene of the slaughter with the jaw-bone, and we have not succeeded in finding any other likely site.

We may note the shifting of sites—Nazareth, for instance, has slipped down the hill, and Jericho has been three times changed.

As regards the Cities of the Plain, a remarkable example occurs of how the survey may be used to recover a site. Beyond the information that they were in the Vale of Siddim, "which is the Salt Sea," there is nothing known. But it seems almost certain from many considerations, that they must have been somewhere at the north of the Dead Sea, and this being so they may have stood at some distance from

each other, and it is further absolutely certain that they must each have been built within reach of a freshwater spring.

Now there are but few springs on the north shore of the Dead Sea or in the plain near it. On the north-west there is a fine spring called 'Ain Feshkhah and



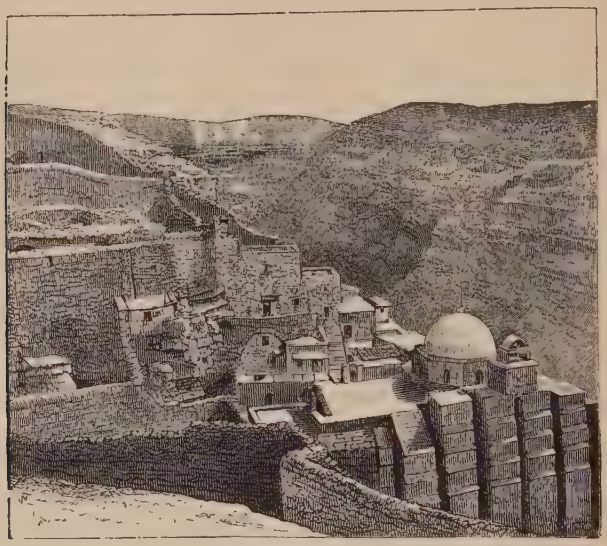
Ain Jidy.

higher up the valley springs are abundant. Guided by this spring we find a great bluff not far south of it called Tubk 'Amriyeh and a neighbouring valley called Wady 'Amriyeh. Now this word is radically identical with Gomorrah Again, where is Zeboim? The word means "hyænas." A cliff just above the plain, near the site of modern Jericho, is called Shukh ed Duba, (lair of the hyæna). Is this the site of Zeboim?

Again, to show how at every step of the way the Bible may be illustrated :

There is one other remarkable natural feature in this interesting plain of Jericho which demands attention—the Kelt Valley, running from the spring of that name, and south of Erîha, past Jiljûlieh to Jordan. There seems no doubt that this is the Valley of Achor, in which Achan was stoned; and the bed of the valley is full of boulders and pebbles of every size, which would account for its being chosen as the scene of the execution, as there is hardly a stone in the greater part of the plain round it.

Wâdy Kelt has been also thought to be the Brook Cherith, and the scene seems well fitted for the retreat of the prophet who was fed by the "'Oreb," whom some suppose to have been Arabs. The whole gorge is wonderfully wild and romantic, it is a huge fissure rent in the mountains, scarcely twenty yards across at the bottom, and full of canes and rank rushes between vertical walls of rock. In its cliffs the caves of early anchorites are hollowed, and the little monastery of St. John of Choseboth is perched above the north bank, under a high, brown precipice. A fine aqueduct from the great spring divides at this latter place into three channels, crossing a magnificent bridge seventy feet high, and running a total distance of three miles and three-quarters, to a place where the gorge debouches into the Jericho plain. On each side the white chalk mountains tower up in fantastic peaks, with long knife-edged ridges, and hundreds of little conical points, with deep torrent-seams between. All is bare and treeless, as at Mar Saba. The wild pigeon makes its nest in the "secret places of the stairs" of rock; the black grackle suns its golden wings above them; the eagle soars higher still, and over the caves by the deep pools the African kingfisher



Mar Saba.

flutters; the ibex also still haunts the rocks. Even in autumn the murmuring of water is heard beneath, and the stream was one day swelled by a thunderstorm in a quarter of an hour, until it became a raging torrent, in some places eight or ten feet deep.

One more recovery. Is not the site of Bethabara dear to all Christians? This is the story of a suggestion, if not a recovery:

The fords were collected and marked in the natural course of the survey, the names carefully obtained, and every precaution taken to ensure their being applied to the right places. It was not, however, until the next winter that I became aware how valuable a result had been obtained. Looking over the nomenclature for the purpose of making an

index, I was struck with the name 'Abârah applying to a ford. The word means "passage," or "ferry," and is radically the same word found in the name Bethabara. I looked 'Abârah out at once on the map, and found that it is one of the main fords, just above the place where the Jalûd river, flowing down the valley of Jezreel and by Beisân, debouches into Jordan.

One cannot but look on this as one of the most valuable discoveries resulting from the survey; and I have not, as yet, seen any argument directed against the identification which seems to shake it. It may be said that the name 'Abârah is merely descriptive, and perhaps applies to several fords. That it is descriptive may be granted; so is the name Bethabara, or Bethel, or Gibeah, or Ramah. That it is a common name may be safely denied. We have collected the names of over forty fords, and no other is called 'Abârah; nor does the word occur again in all the 9000 names collected by the survey party.

Nor do we depend on the name alone. An identification may be defined as the recovery of a site unknown to Europeans, but known to the natives of the country. Evidently places can only be known by their names, unless we have measured distances by which to fix them. If in England we endeavoured to recover an ancient site, and knew the district in which it should occur, we should be satisfied if we found the ancient name applying to one place, and one only, in that district. Without the name, we should still be in doubt. Does not this apply to Palestine? It is true that name alone will not be sufficient; position must be suitable also. No one would try to identify Yarmouth in Norfolk with Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight. But, on the other hand, without the name it is merely conjecture, not identification, that is possible.

Here at 'Abârah we have the name, and nowhere else, as

yet, has the name been found; the question then arises, is the position suitable?

We speak commonly of Bethabara as the place of Our Lord's baptism. Possibly it was so, but the Gospel does not say as much. It is only once mentioned as a place where John was baptising, and where certain events happened on consecutive days. These events are placed in the Gospel harmonies immediately after the Temptation, when Christ would appear to have been returning from the Desert (perhaps east of Jordan) to Galilee. Bethabara, "the house of the ferry," was "beyond Jordan;" but the place of baptism was no doubt at the ford or ferry itself; hence the ford 'Abârah is the place of interest. It cannot be Christian tradition which originates this site, for Christian tradition has pointed, from the fourth century down to the present day, to the fords of Jericho as the place of baptism by St. John.

"And the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee" (John ii. 1). Here is the controlling passage. The hostile critics of the fourth Gospel have taken hold of it; they have supposed the traditional site to be undoubtedly the true one, and have thence argued the impossibility that in one day Christ could have travelled eighty miles to Cana. To the fourth century enquirer the difficulty would never have occurred; he would have answered at once that Our Lord was miraculously carried from one place to the other; but the Gospel does not say so, and we should therefore look naturally for Bethabara within a day's journey of Cana. The ford 'Abârah is about twenty-two miles in a line from Kefr Kenna, and no place can be found, on Jordan, much nearer or more easily accessible to the neighbourhood of Cana.

I leave these facts to the reader, asking him to choose between the difficulties attendant on the traditional site, and

the suitability of the new site, where alone as yet the name of Bethabara has been recovered.

There is, however, another point with regard to Bethabara which must not be overlooked. The oldest MSS. read, not Bethabara, but Bethany, beyond Jordan. Origen observed this, yet chose the present reading, and we can hardly suppose that the early fathers of the Church made such an alteration without some good reason; perhaps the original text contained both names, "Bethabara in Bethany" beyond Jordan being a possible reading.

The author of "Supernatural Religion" has made a point of this reading in arguing against the authenticity of the fourth Gospel. He supposes that Bethany beyond Jordan has been confused in the Evangelist's mind with Bethany near Jerusalem, forgetting that this very Gospel speaks of the latter place as "nigh unto Jerusalem, about fifteen furlongs off" (John xi. 18). The assumption of the confusion is quite gratuitous. Bethania, meaning "soft soil," was the well-known form used in the time of Christ, of the old name Bashan, which district was in Peræa, or the country beyond Jordan.

If Bethabara be a true reading, the place should thus most probably be sought in Bethania, and the ford should therefore lead over to Bashan. This again strengthens the case for the 'Abârah ford, which is near the hills of Bashan, whereas the Jericho fords are far away, leading over towards Gilead and Moab.

Again, to quote from a paper called "Some of the Biblical Gains due to the New Survey," published in the *Quarterly Statement* of January, 1881:

Geographical discoveries of remarkable interest and value are at once recognised by those who compare the Survey Map with former maps of Palestine. The Sea of Galilee

proves to have a depression nearly 100 feet greater than was formerly supposed. The courses of the main affluents of Jordan on the west are entirely different from those

Sea of Galilee.

previously shown. The Crocodile River springs from a source formerly unsuspected. Villages have been transposed from one side to the other of great boundary valleys, forty fords of Jordan are now known where only four were previously marked. Ten thousand modern names occur on the map, of which nearly nine-tenths were previously unknown. Important notes as to the geological structure of the country, its physical features, cultivation, soil, climate, and natural products have been collected, and the traditions and customs of its inhabitants have been noted. And from an archæological point of view our information as to the dates, the positions, and the nature of the existing ruins, as to the character of the peasant language, and as to the manners, customs, and superstitions of the rustic population has been enormously increased.

There is another peculiarity with regard to Biblical geography which lends additional interest and importance to the subject. Palestine is a little country, the length of which might be traversed by rail in six hours and its breadth in less than two. The six hundred Bible sites which are to be found within its limits are thus on an average to be sought within an area of 10 square miles a piece. When David fled farthest from Saul he was yet not more than 40 miles from Bethlehem, nor more than 50 from Gibeah where Saul abode. Most of the famous deeds of Samson took place in a district containing an area of less than 40 square miles. Jerusalem itself covered at the height of its prosperity not more than 330 acres, including 30 acres of the Temple enclosure. The closeness of the topography while on the one hand rendering its recovery more difficult, lends on the other a wonderful vividness and reality to the ancient episodes of Hebrew history. At Hebron we may almost trace each step of Abner's way from the Well of Sirah to his doom at the city gate. By Michmash we may gaze on the very rock up which Jonathan climbed. At Shechem we may stand on the brink of Jacob's well, in the very foot prints of Christ. We are not content to know that Capernaum was north of Tiberias, and insist on fixing the exact spot now disputed by sites only about 2½ miles distant one from the other. Fierce controversies arise between those who place Cana 4 miles north of the traditional site and those who support the latter view. Topography, in short, takes the place in Palestine of geography, and for this reason a plan rather than a map is required.

Commencing, then, with the immigration of Abraham from beyond Euphrates, the first topographical question which arises is that of the exact position of the royal Canaanite city of Ai. (Sheet XVII.)

The situation of this ancient town, afterwards entirely

destroyed by Joshua, is minutely described in the Bible. It was "beside" Bethel (Joshua xii. 9), and the Hebrew has here the force of "close to," which appears fatal to the claims of various sites south and east of Michmash (or more than 6 miles from Bethel) which have been proposed. Ai lay also east of Bethel (Joshua viii. 9) with a ravine to the north (verse 11) and a desert to the east (verse 15), while to the west was a place fitted for the ambush which the Israelites set. These indications were so definite that but little doubt could exist as to the approximate situation of the town. Travellers visited and described a ruin called *et Tell*, "the mound," which seems first to have been pointed out by Van de Velde, and the somewhat fanciful conjecture was advanced that this place derived its name from the fact that Joshua made of Ai "a heap (*Tell* in the Hebrew) for ever" (Joshua viii. 28).

To this view there were, however, objections. There is no certain indication that the hillock of *et Tell* was ever the site of a city, and the expression "for ever" should be taken rather as an indication of the early date of the Book of Joshua, for Ai reappears as a town in the later Jewish books (Nehemiah xi. 31; Isaiah x. 28). Fortunately the survey party were able to suggest a better explanation through the discovery of the ancient ruins of *Haiyân* immediately south of *et Tell*. The name recalls the Aina of Josephus (equivalent to Ai, Ant. v. i, 9), and the existence of large rock-hewn reservoirs with tombs and cisterns proves the site to be of importance and antiquity. To the north is a rugged ravine, to the east the desolate desert of Bethaven. To the west is Bethel, 2 miles distant, and between the two sites is the open ravine called "the valley of the city," where unseen, yet close at hand, the ambush may have lain concealed beneath the low cliffs or among the olive groves after creeping across from the northern valley behind the rough rocky swell which runs out to the mound of *et Tell*.

It was from the flat ridge which rises from between Bethel and Ai that Abraham and Lot looked down on the Cities of the Plain and on the "circle" of Jordan, and the view from this point over the desert ranges and the Jordan valley to Nebo and Moab is still striking and picturesque.

As regards the position of these famous cities which Josephus believed to have lain beneath the waters of the Dead Sea, but which modern students place in the Jericho Plain or in the corresponding basin (Ghôr es Seisebân) east of Jordan, the survey results were rather of negative than of positive value. A very close and careful examination of the ground showed that no traces of the sites of any towns occur between Jericho and the Dead Sea shore, the remaining ruins belonging only to mediæval monastic establishments, and that no springs suitable for the supply of even small villages exist, or probably ever existed, in this district. Thus, although an apparently successful attempt has been made by Dr. Selah Merrill to recover the site of Zoar, our information as to the other four cities, the destruction of which is described in the Book of Genesis (chapter xix), remains indecisive. Captain Conder has, however, pointed out that the term "plain" (*Ciccar*) is applied in the Bible to the Jordan valley as far north as Succoth, which renders it not improbable that Admah, one of the lost cities, is identical with Adam, a city of Jordan (Joshua iii. 11), the name of which still survives at the *Damieh* ford east of Shechem. (Sheet XV.)

Among the nations inhabiting Palestine in the time of Abraham the Kenites—a tribe as yet unidentified—are mentioned (Genesis xv. 19). They inhabited a strong fortress in the southern part of the country and survived until the time of David. Captain Conder proposes to identify this site with the town of Cain which Van de Velde found in the present ruin of *Yekîn*. This affords an

interesting illustration of the Old Testament narrative. Yekîn perched on the edge of a steep cliff dominating the desert plateau west of the Dead Sea, is one of the most conspicuous objects against the sky-line looking from the east. To Balaam, on the summit of Nebo, it was in full view, and the words of his prophecy thus receive fresh force and significance, "strong is thy dwelling place, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock." (Sheet XXI.)

The history of the later Patriarchs Isaac, Jacob, and his sons is mainly connected with the district called *Negeb* or "dry" in the Bible. Beersheba, Gerar, Rehoboth, and the unknown sites of Esek and Sitnah are all to be found in this part of the country. The reason of this choice of country is plainly shown by the survey. The high hills of Hebron, with their steep, rocky valleys, rich soil, and numerous springs, are suitable for agriculture and the growth of the olive and the vine; the low chalky hills and the healthy Beersheba plateau form a pastoral district still capable of supporting large flocks and herds. The Hittite mountains round Kirjath Arba (or Hebron) were already inhabited by an agricultural population in the time of Abraham, and the nomadic Hebrews found a suitable home in the pasture lands of the Philistines and Amalekites in the "dry district," of which the distinctive character remains unchanged. Where the Patriarchs once spread their tents the great tribes of the Azazimeh and Henâjereh now pasture their flocks; and in the mountains of the sons of Heth the modern Fellahin lead an agricultural life.

The site of Gerar was discovered before the survey, but was visited by the party from Gaza. There is little to describe beyond a gigantic mound on the side of a deep broad watercourse in the midst of rolling plains.

The question of most interest was that of rediscovering the wells which Isaac dug again in the valley of Gerar after

those made by Abraham had been filled in by the Philistines (Genesis xxv. 18). No great masonry wells such as those of Beersheba were discovered; and, indeed, at Beer-

Abraham's Well, Beersheba.

sheba itself the survey party were able to show that the masonry once thought to have been the work of Abraham dates only from Arab times. It was ascertained, however, that a strong underground stream flows down the great

valley which, rising near Hebron, runs southwards to Beersheba, and thence westwards to the sea, passing by the site of Gerar. The Arabs camping round this latter site are in the habit of making excavations in the bed of the valley, from which the water wells up, and which are called by the Hebrew name *Hufr*, or "pit." If the wells dug by Abraham were of this description they might easily have been filled in by the Philistines and reopened by Isaac; while the loss of the sites of Esek and Sitnah is on the same supposition naturally explained.

The later books of the Pentateuch contain but little information concerning the topography of Palestine proper. A few notes of interest may, however, be here given in connection with the survey.

According to the Law of Moses the scapegoat was set free in the wilderness (Leviticus xvi. 9), but at a later period an evasion or modification of this command was introduced by the Jews; the goat was conducted to a mountain named Tzuk situated at a distance of ten sabbath days' journey, or about 6½ English miles from Jerusalem. At this place the Judæan desert was supposed to commence, and the man in whose charge the goat was sent out, while setting him free, was instructed to push the unhappy beast down the slope of the mountain side, which was so steep as to ensure the death of the goat, whose bones were broken by the fall. The reason of this barbarous custom was that on one occasion the scapegoat returned to Jerusalem after being set free, which was considered such an evil omen that its recurrence was prevented for the future by the death of the goat, as described in the tract Yoma of the Mishna.

The distance given between Tzuk and Jerusalem seems to indicate a lofty hill top now called *el Muntâr*, "the watch-tower," which dominates the desert west of Jericho. An ancient road leads from Jerusalem to this point, and beside

the road is an ancient well preserving the name Tzuk in the Arab form *Sâk*. The eastern slope of the hill is steep, and falls unbroken to the stony valley beneath. The goat, dashed on the rocks, in its fall must inevitably have been destroyed, while the mountain may well claim to be considered the entrance to the dreary desert which stretches beneath its summit.* (Sheet XVIII.)

Another discovery of some interest was the identification by the Survey party of one of the species of deer mentioned in the Pentateuch. In the English version the Hebrew word *Yakhmor* is rendered "fallow deer," but this interpretation has not been accepted by modern scholars. It is now proved that the roebuck as well as the fallow deer is to be found in the Carmel thickets, and it has been ascertained that the old Hebrew name *Yakhmor* is still applied by the natives to the former species—the English roebuck.

The researches of Egyptologists have thrown considerable light on the condition of Palestine and Syria during the time of the Hebrew bondage in Egypt and during the time of the Judges. The records of the great conquerors Thothmes III and Rameses II give long lists of places situated in the Holy Land and in the country of the Hittites. The reason why the children of Israel entered Palestine from the east after their long sojourn in the Sinaitic desert appears to have been that the Egyptian Government was then firmly established in the Plain of Sharon. This agrees with the Bible account of the Philistine immigration into the southern plains from Egypt, and in this, as in so many other instances, the records of the Egyptian monuments fully coincide with the history of the Old Testament.

Attempts have been made by Mariette, Brugsch, de Rougé, Chabas, and other Egyptologists to identify the towns

* In 1881 Captain Conder revisited this spot, and found the actual name "*Suk*" still existing.

mentioned in the records of Egyptian conquests in Palestine. Many have been recovered with certainty, but it was not until the Survey had been completed that it became possible to study the subject exhaustively. Many existing ancient sites not mentioned in the Bible are found to agree exactly with the Egyptian lists, and the probable correctness of the identifications thus obtained is evinced by the ease with which the lists are shown to preserve a proper consecutive order, while the districts occur along the very line of march which we know, from other inscriptions, to have have been followed by Thothmes and Rameses. The number of identifications proposed within the country covered by the Survey may also be contrasted with our almost entire ignorance of the topography of the Hittite towns lying north of Damascus, of which scarcely six are known out of a total of over 100 noticed on the monuments.

The Book of Joshua is the central focus of Biblical topography, and the elucidation of this book has been materially advanced by the survey. Several important cities before unknown have now been fixed with considerable certitude, and the boundaries of the tribes have been traced in a satisfactory manner.

The Survey officers were able to confirm entirely the discoveries of M. Clermont Ganneau respecting the sites of Adullum and Gezer, and to these important towns they add the identification of Hazor and Debir, with a large number of less famous names. The site of Gilgal, discovered east of Jericho by the German traveller Herr Schokke was fixed by the surveyors, who found the name *Jiljûlieh* still surviving. The site of Makkedah fixed by Colonel Warren, R.E., at the present village *el Mughâr*, "the caves," has been adopted by the surveyors, who found that at this site only of all the possible sites for Makkedah in the Philistine plain do caves (*see* Joshua x. 22) still exist. The position

Gilgal.

also agrees well with the identification of the towns Gederoth, Beth-Dagon, and Naamah mentioned in the same group with Makkedah. (Sheet XVI.)

The site of Joshua's tomb has long been sought, the identification with the rock sepulchre at *Tibneh*, north-east of Lydda, being unsatisfactory for several reasons. Joshua was buried at a place called Timnath Heres, in Mount Ephraim, and there is a remarkable consent of Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian tradition, traceable from the fourth century downwards, which points to a village called *Kefr Hâris*, south of Shechem, as representing the burial place of Joshua. Captain Conder ascertained that this tradition is still extant among the Samaritans, and although it appears little understood by the peasantry, a sacred shrine exists outside the village of Kefr Hâris to which the name *Neby Lush'a* (no doubt a corruption of Yehusha, or Joshua), is applied. Ancient tradition also places the tomb of Nun at this same village, and a second sacred place called Neby

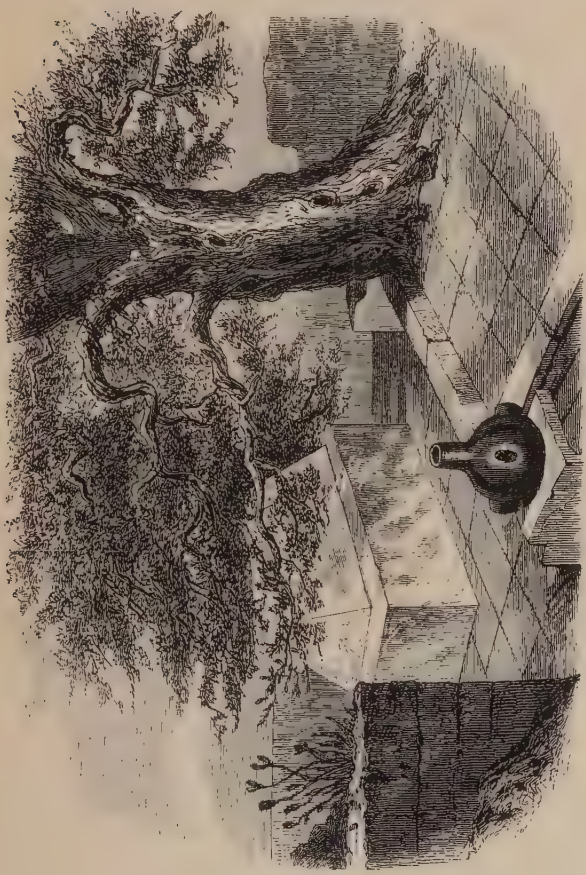
Nûn was found close to the supposed site of the tomb of Joshua.

The Priests Eleazar and Phinehas, the successors of Aaron, were also buried in Mount Ephraim. The traditional site was sought in vain by the great American explorer, Robinson, but the surveyors were more fortunate, and have visited and minutely described the tombs which according to Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian tradition alike, are said to be those of the sons of Aaron. The monument of

Tomb of Phinehas.

Phinehas appears to be of great antiquity, but that of Eleazar has been rebuilt. They are both close to the village of Awertah, which the Samaritans identify with the Biblical Gibeah Phinehas (Joshua xxiv. 33). (Sheets XIV. and XI.)

There is no room in a paper like the present to go very deeply into the question of the boundaries of the tribes. Several important Survey discoveries have been cordially accepted by students of the subject, and several very



Tomb of Eleazar.

important modifications have resulted from the survey in the lines of the borders as formerly laid down. The general results of the new investigation appear to be as follows:—

1st. The boundaries are shown to be almost entirely natural—rivers, ravines, ridges, and the watershed lines of the country.

2nd. To many of the tribes were assigned distinct districts of the country. Issachar had the great plain, Zebulon the low hills north of it. The sons of Joseph held the wild central mountains, and Naphtali those of Upper Galilee. Dan and Asher occupied the rich Shephelah (or lowland) and maritime plain. Simeon inhabited the desert, while Judah, holding the largest share of territory, had both mountain and Shephelah plain and desert in its portion.

3rd. The enumeration of towns follows always an order roughly consecutive, and all those of one district are mentioned together.

4th. The proportion ot territory to population is calculated to vary exactly in accordance with the fertility of the district. Taking as a basis the tribe populations (Numbers xxvi.), it appears that the ancient populations must have been most dense exactly in those districts in which the greatest number of ancient ruins is now found, and which are still most thickly inhabited.

Among the most important discoveries concerning the tribe boundaries are the following: the waters of Nephtoah (Joshua xv, 9) are now placed at the pools of Solomon (so called), besides which the spring *'Atân*, the Talmudic Etam, or Nephtoah, still exists. Formerly they were identified with the spring near Lifta, west of Jerusalem, probably Eleph of Benjamin; but this theory renders the topography very confused, whereas the new proposal when joined to the new identification of Kirjath Jearim makes the boundary line of Judah follow a natural watershed.

On the north-west border of Benjamin, Ataroth Adar (*ed Dârieh*), and Archi (*'Ain Arîk*) have been recovered in exact accordance with the words of the Bible (Joshua xviii, 13), which define the position of the former with the greatest minuteness. The course of the brook Kanah, (Wâdy Kânah) has now, for the first time, been correctly laid down, thus fixing the boundaries of Ephraim and Manasseh; and the discovery of Rabbith and other sites has, for the first time, defined the border of Issachar. Many new identifications are proposed for the towns of Dan and Asher, and a group of places belonging to Napthali has been fixed in an apparently satisfactory manner in the plateau immediately west of the Sea of Galilee.

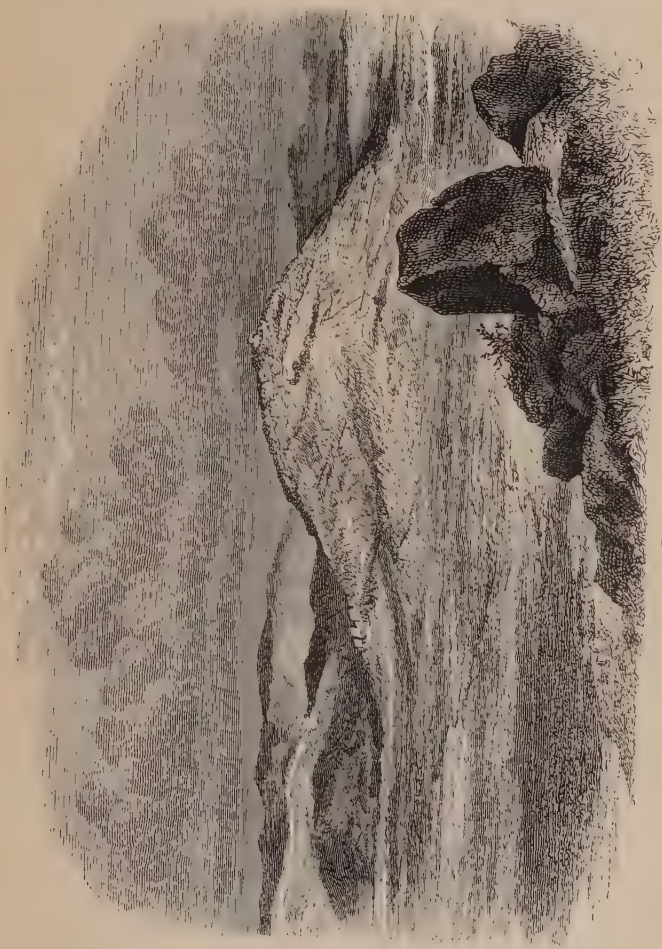
Let us now pass to the elucidation which has been effected through the Survey, of the episodical histories of the Book of Judges,—the adventures of Caleb, Sisera, Gideon, and Samson.

The site of the city Debir, for the conquest of which the valiant Othniel was rewarded by the hand of Achsah, Caleb's daughter, had long been sought in vain. Many towns of the group surrounding it had been identified. It was known to stand in the Negeb, or "dry," country south of Hebron, and that certain springs should be found not far off. The name signifies "back," suggesting that the city stood on a ridge, and Captain Conder was the first to point out the probable identity with the ancient village *Dhâherîyeh* ("of the back"), standing in a conspicuous position among ancient tombs and quarries close to the other towns of the groups, while, at a short distance to the north, a valley was discovered full of springs, some on the hill side, some in the bed of the ravine, answering in a most satisfactory manner to the "upper and lower springs" for which Achsah besought her father (Judges i. 15). (Sheet XXV.)

Ed Dhaheriyeh.

Among the graphic episodes of Hebrew history, there is, perhaps, none more picturesque than that relating to Gideon's victory over the Midianites. The general scene is known, the Valley of Jezreel, now Wâdy Jâlûd; but the details of the minute topography are still obscured through the loss of many sites east of Jordan. Zererath, and Tabbath, Bethabara, Penuel, Nobah, and Karkor (Judges vii. 22; viii. 11) are still uncertain, and it is only possible to say that pursuit extended from some point below Jezreel to the mountains east of Jericho.

The survey throws light on the position of Abel Meholah, and Succoth is identified at Tell Der'ala. Suggestions may also be offered for the situation of the famous "Spring of Trembling" (En Harod), where Gideon selected his band, and light may be thrown on the curious notice of a Mount Gilead, west of Jordan, in the same connection.



Mount Tabor.

It is clear from the account given by Josephus that Harod is to be sought not far from Jordan, and Captain Conder has suggested that the name 'Ain el Jem'aîn, "Spring of the two Companies," applying to an abundant stream at the foot of the eastern slope of Mount Gilboa, may retain a trace of the memory of Gideon's famous selection of three hundred tried men, who, as able to satisfy their thirst by water taken in the palm of the hand, were indicated as fitter to endure the trial of a long and rapid pursuit than the remaining multitude who drank more freely.

As regards the name Gilead (Judges vii. 3), it has been found that from an early period the name *Jalûd* or *Jelden* has applied to the stream flowing down the Valley of Jezreel, and it is suggested that the name Gilead, applying according to the passage above cited to a mountain near this stream is the true Hebrew form of the modern Arab *Jalûd* and of the Jelden which is mentioned in Egyptian documents.

A site long sought in connection with the history of Samson, and also with the succeeding episode of the Danite conquest of Laish, is that of the Mahaneh Dan, or "Camping place of Dan," which was "behind" (*i.e.*, west of) Kirjath Jearim (Judges xviii. 12), and near Zoreah and Eshtaol. These indications could not be reconciled with the site usually proposed for Kirjath Jearim. It appeared probable that the wide corn valley east of Samson's home was the camping ground in question, but this is eight miles from Kuriet el 'Anab, where Dr. Robinson places the famous city Kirjath Jearim, the resting place for so many years of the Ark.

It has now been pointed out that this latter identification rests on no surer basis than a fifth century tradition of foreign origin, and we are left free to seek the "town of thickets" elsewhere. The survey identification points to a ruin on a thickly covered ridge amongst copses and thickets, to which the name *'Erma* still applies, corresponding to the

latest form Arim, which took the place of the original Ya'rim or Jearim (Ezra ii. 25). This ruin is distant only three miles from the great valley towards which it looks down. It lies close to the border of the lower hills and the high Judean mountains, and it shows evidence of having been an ancient site.

Close to the same vicinity the survey party fixed the situation of Deir Aban, "The Convent of the Stone," which St. Jerome identifies with the site of Ebenezer, 'The Stone of Help," a name so familiar to our ears as that of the monument raised by Samuel to commemorate the great victory over the Philistines (1 Samuel vii. 12), and probably marking the final limit of the pursuit.

The situation of the site seems to render the traditional view not improbably correct, for the village stands at the mouth of the great valley, down which undoubtedly the Philistine hosts were driven, and just at the border which, until the time of Solomon, appears to have divided the land of the Philistines from the territory actually occupied by the sons of Judah. (Sheet XVII.)

The history of Saul is elucidated by the survey in the recovery of Bezek, the mustering place of Israel (1 Samuel xi, 8). Jerome and Eusebius place this site, which is known to have been near the centre of the country, at a certain distance from Shechem on the road to Beisân. At this exact distance on the ancient road the ruin *Ibzîk* occurs on the survey, and this is a case which, if we take into consideration Mr. Grove's argument on the subject before this discovery had been made, may fairly be considered to be past dispute the recovery of a long lost site. (Sheet XII.)

The exact site of the great cliffs Seneh and Bozez, which Jonathan climbed with his armour bearer (1 Samuel xiv. 4), has been pointed out by the surveyors through the aid of a remarkably exact description by Josephus of

the site of the Philistine camp. The name Seneh, "thorn bush," given at a later period to the intervening valley (as noticed by Josephus) is still recognizable in the present Arab name of the same splendid gorge *Wâdy Suweinît*, or "The Valley of the Little Thorntree." The name Bozez, or "shining," is explained by the fact that it is that of the northern cliff crowned by a mound of white chalky marl, presenting a shining and conspicuous aspect, contrasting strongly during the daytime with the dark shadow of the southern precipice.

The fixing of this famous spot depends to a certain extent on the right allocation of Gibeah (of Saul or of Benjamin), a site which Dr. Robinson transferred to the old beacon platform called Tell el Fûl. There is not here space for the arguments connected with this question, but it may be noted that the Survey shows that Tell el Fûl cannot have been the site of an ancient town.

The romantic adventures of David during the time of his exile and wanderings have received much important illustration from the results of the survey. Elah, Sechu, Adullam, Gath, Hareth, Hachilah, Sela-ham-Mahlekoth, and Choresh Ziph are now pointed out with some degree of certainty. Sites for the capital of the Cherethites, Ziklag, (1 Samuel xxx 14) and for Nob have been proposed. Visiting the ruins of the "hold" of Adullam (*'Aid-el-Ma*), first identified by M. Clermont Ganneau, the surveyors found a cave close to the ruins of the ancient town, a cave sufficiently large to have been the habitation of David while his band were garrisoning the hold or fortress. Not many miles away lies the broad corn vale where the shepherd boy slew the giant with one of the smooth pebbles which still fill the bed of the winter torrent flowing through the valley. The various hiding places to which the future King of Israel retired occur in consecutive order, each south of the

Wâdy Suweinît (Rock Rimmon?).

other, each further from his native town, each in a country more wildly desolate, more difficult of access than that surrounding the preceding strongholds. The probable site of the "Cliff of Divisions," Sela-ham-Mahlekoth, is the present Wâdy Malâky south of Hachilah (*el Kôlah*), and close to the site of Maon (*M'aîn*). Here, in full sight of the hunter, but protected by the mighty precipices of the gorge, David was rescued by the sudden Philistine invasion which compelled Saul to retreat just as the prey appeared to be within his grasp (1 Samuel xxiii. 26).

Among the most vexed questions of the later episode of David's flight before Absalom was that of the site of Bahurim (2 Samuel xvi. 5), where the spies lay hid in the cistern covered by the corn (2 Samuel xvii. 7). It has been assumed that David's flight across Olivet was directed along the road leading by Bethany, but Bahurim belonged to Benjamin, and was identified by the Jews of the fourth century (*see* the Targum of Jonathan) with the later Almon, or Alemeth, lying beside the ancient road which leads across the saddle north of the principal summit of the Mount of Olives. Captain Conder proposes to accept this explanation, for the site of Almon (*'Almît*) is sufficiently near to the "top of the hill" to render its identity with Bahurim possible, while the existence of numerous rock-cut cisterns with narrow mouths illustrates the incident of the concealment of Jonathan and Ahimaaz, who "came to a man's house in Bahurim which had a well in his court, whither they went down, and a woman took and spread a covering over the well's mouth and spread ground corn thereon, and the thing was not known." (Sheet XVII.)

Among the illustrations of later Jewish history springing from the survey, we may notice the discovery of wine presses at Jezreel, where no vines at present exist; the probable identification of Teiâsîr, where the Kings of Israel were

buried, and the indication of a possible site for Megiddo at the important ruin Mujedd'a. The topography of the apochryphal Book of Judith is now shown to be quite possible, and the famous city Bethulia has been located in a position answering every known requisite at the modern village of *Mithilia*. A curious but important distinction may now be made between Tipsah or Thapsacus, on Euphrates, and the Tiphsah where Menahem so cruelly avenged himself on rebellious subjects (2 Kings xv. 16). At a time when the King of Israel was a tributary of the Assyrian monarch it seemed highly improbable that Hebrew conquests should have extended to Euphrates, and an ancient ruin called *Tafsah* still existing south of Shechem seems more probably the site of the rebellious city, which refused to submit to the usurper Menahem after his conquest of Samaria and Tirzah. (Sheet XIV.)

The victories and defeats of Judas Maccabæus are in like manner illustrated by recent discovery. The site of the great battle in which he lost his life has been variously placed near Ashdod, and north of Jerusalem. The identification of Eleasa (Ilasa), Berea (Bîreh), Berzetho (Bîr ez Zeit), and Mount Azotus near the last, now show that the position which he occupied was originally intended to intercept the retreat of Bacchides by an advance from Modin—the native town of the Hasmoneans—on the narrow pass through which the road from Samaria to Jerusalem leads in the vicinity of 'Ain el Haramîyeh. (Sheet XVII.)

The site of the famous battle of Adasa in like manner is found at a spot where the two main lines of advance on Jerusalem from the north join one another; and the first campaign of Judas, as is now clearly evident, consisted in the defence of the three main passes leading from the north-west, the west, and south-west to the Holy City.

Turning from the Old Testament history to the study of

the topography of the Gospels, it will be found that the survey of Palestine has not been without important results in illustration of the life of Christ. New information has been collected as to Bethabara, Emmaus, Ænon, Sychar, Antipatris, Capernaum, Cana, and Calvary.

The identification of Emmaus is another instance of the importance of minute examination of the ground. The district where the supposed site is found was fairly well known, but the ruin hidden in a well-watered valley among gardens of lemon and orange had not previously been explored. It was generally recognised by scholars that the Emmaus, where Christ supped with two disciples, could not be the same as the famous Emmaus Nicopolis where Judas conquered the Greeks.

The latter city was 160 stadia from Jerusalem, but the village Emmaus, where Herod's soldiers were settled, was both according to St. Luke, and according to Josephus, only 60 stadia distant from the capital. The name Emmaus is a corruption of the Hebrew *Khammath*, a "hot spring," applied to medicinal springs, even when not ot very high temperature, as at Emmaus Nicopolis. The ruin which has now been found at nearly the exact distance (60 stadia) from Jerusalem is called *Khamasa*, thus representing the vulgar pronunciation of the Hebrew original. Ancient rock-cut sepulchres and a causeway mark the site as being of considerable antiquity, and the vicinity is still remarkable for its fine supply of spring water. Among the numerous sites proposed for Emmaus there is none which has so many arguments in its favour as has the new discovery of the survey party. (Sheet XVII.)

With respect to Ænon and Sychar, the surveyors have only confirmed the views advocated by Dr. Robinson and Canon Williams. The existence of "much water" and of open ground suitable for the assembly of a crowd has now

been pointed out in the vicinity of the village Sâlim or Salem, and of the ruin 'Ainûn or Ænon.

Of the numerous sites previously proposed there is no other which unites every requisite of name and water supply. Other Ænons exist far from any Salem, and other Salems in water districts where no name Ænon is found; but in the Great Wâdy Fâr'ah, which, starting at Shechem, formed the north boundary of Judea, in the Jordan valley, we find a site which appears to satisfy every requirement and to agree well with the new identification of Bethabara. (Sheet XII.)

As regards Sychar, Canon Williams has argued in favour of the village 'Askar, close to Jacob's well—a hamlet apparently overlooked by Robinson. The survey investigations have shown that the ancient Samaritan name of this village closely approached to the Hebrew Sychar, and the error first made by the Crusaders, who confounded Sychar with Shechem, and which has subsequently been adopted by Dr. Robinson, in spite of the evidence of the early travellers of the fourth to the seventh centuries, and which has found its way into the pages of Canon Farrar's "Life of Christ," may now be corrected through the explorations which prove the antiquity and ancient name of the village 'Askar near Jacob's well. (Sheet XI.)

As regards Bethsaida the evidence is purely negative, no trace of the name of the supposed Galilean Bethsaida having been found. The theory that two Bethsaidas existed on the shores of the Sea of Galilee was originated by the learned Reland, and has been adopted by many authorities. Captain Conder, however, agrees with Renan and Robinson in supposing that only one site of that name existed, namely, the village afterwards named Julias, east of the Jordan and not far from its mouth.

As regards Capernaum, the authorities are still divided into two parties. Captain Conder and Lieutenant Kitchener

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agree with Robinson, Renan, and many others in placing this city at the ruin Minyeh (the "town of the Minim" or Christian heretics who are called in the Talmud "Sons of Capernaum"). Colonel Wilson, R.E., has, however, clearly shown that from the fourth century down, Tell Hûm has been the traditional site of this town, and assumes that the Christian tradition is correct. Much still remains to be done to elucidate this subject; careful levels along a line of aqueducts are required, and excavations at Minyeh are very desirable.

Colonnade at Samaria.

A site which, though not scriptural, was of much importance for the understanding of the topography of the Sea of Galilee, was recovered by Lieutenant Kitchener in the modern Sinn-en-Nâbra, the ancient Sinnabris. This discovery supports the generally received identification of the important town of Tarichea (Kerak), which owing to a mis-

conception has been placed on recent maps north instead of south of Tiberias.

The question of the boundaries of Samaria in the time of Christ is one not a little important to the understanding of His journeys through Peræa. By the recovery of Anuath ('Aina), Borceos (Berkît), Antipatris, Beth-Rima, and other places, we have been able for the first time to lay down the line of the border between Judæa and Samaria with considerable accuracy of detail, and to show the necessity of the journey across Jordan in passing from Galilee to Jerusalem (Mark x. 1).

Without entering into the famous controversy as to the site of Calvary, it should be noticed that an important piece of novel information bearing on the question has been collected during the course of the survey. The place of execution used by the Jews before the destruction of Jerusalem, and called in the Talmud Beth-has-Sekilah, or the "house of stoning," is still shownby their modern descendants outside the Damascus gate north of the city. To Christians it is known as the cliff of Jeremiah's grotto, in consequence of a tradition which is only traceable as far back as the fifteenth century. The fact that a precipice is mentioned (in the Talmudic account of the punishment of stoning) as existing at the place of execution appears to confirm the tradition. This spot has according to modern authorities always been outside Jerusalem, and some travellers think they have observed a skull-like formation in the hill-top above the cave such as the early fathers often attribute to Golgotha. That Christ was executed according to Roman custom rather than the Jewish is certain; but there is no reason to suppose that Jerusalem possessed two places of execution at the time—the conservatism of the east would indeed point to an opposite conclusion. If the Jewish tradition be trustworthy we see

in the site thus recovered an identification which possesses in a high degree a claim on our attention, as one of the most important that can be expected in Palestine.

The discoveries thus far described have been mainly topographical, as must be naturally expected from the character of the work undertaken. The survey party, however, enjoyed unusual opportunities for the study of the manners and customs of the native peasantry and of the Bedawin, in districts where a Frank had sometimes never been seen before; and from this intimate intercourse many interesting results were obtained in illustration of the manners and customs of the lower classes as described in the Bible. A detailed account of many of these discoveries will be found in the last chapters of "Tent Work in Palestine," published by the Committee, which are devoted to the description of various nationalities to be found in Syria.

The antiquity of the native peasant stock is evidenced both by their language and by the peculiarities of their religion. Their pronunciation of many letters is archaic, and approaches much closer to the Aramaic or to the Hebrew than to modern Arabic. There are also many pure Hebrew words in use among the Fellahîn which are unintelligible to the inhabitants of towns who use the modern Arabic words instead. The worship of Mukâms or "Shrines" among the peasantry is also intimately connected with the old worship of trees and high places by the Canaanites, although the traditions attaching to these sacred places are traceable to Crusading, Byzantine, or Moslem origin, as well as in other cases to an older indigenous source.

In manners, customs, and dress, the peasantry recall the incidental notices of the same population in pre-Christian times. The "round tires like the moon," against which Isaiah declaimed, are still worn by the women of Samaria.

Like Jezebel, they still paint their faces; like Elijah, the men still gird up their loins. The "corner of the field" is still left for the poor, and a tithe of corn for the Levite (or Derwîsh). The harvest customs and methods of tillage are unchanged; the olives are still beaten down with a rod. These are but single instances of the numerous scriptural expressions which are now illustrated by the customs of the Syrian peasantry. The nomadic life of the early patriarchs is in the same way illustrated by the manners of the Bedawin of the deserts, and, as above stated, the settled and pastoral districts retain the same relative position as in earlier times.

Tell es Safi (Gath ?).

To sum up, therefore, as to the value of this Survey to the world at large. Not only has there been a very great extension of the known sites, but, for the first

time, the natural features of the country have been laid down in exact detail, so that the reader of the Bible may now follow step by step the events of which he reads. It is no longer with him a question as to which route might have been followed ; he sees which route *must* have been followed, he need no longer, to arrive at the true distances from place to place, follow Robinson, Guérin, and the rest, in their tedious "two hours to the east, then an hour and a quarter to the north-east," and so forth ; he can simply take a compass and measure the exact distance. More than this, he can follow on the map the route which must have been taken in any expedition. If again he will turn from the map to the memoirs he will learn the character of the country and its fertility, its ancient vineyards, terraced hills, and olive presses, its modern forests, its fountains—in one sheet alone of the map there are 200 fountains,—and its flora. Again, if he wishes to study the history of the country subsequent to that of the Bible, he will find how one ruin stands upon another, and that upon an older ruin still ; so that even in Joshua's time there were already ruins in the land ; how you may find the mosque built from the materials of the church, the church from those of the synagogue, or the Turkish fort from the Crusading castle, the castle from the monastery, the monastery from the Roman walls.

It may in short, be fairly claimed for the Survey of

Western Palestine that *nothing has ever been done for the illustration and right understanding of the historical portions of the Old and New Testament, since the translation into the vulgar tongue, which may be compared with this great work.* The officer whose name is especially associated with these maps and memoirs has made himself a name which will last as long as there are found men and women to read and study the Sacred Books.

# CHAPTER VII.

## THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPEDITION.

In the autumn of the year 1873 the Committee found themselves able to secure the services of M. Clermont Ganneau for an archæological expedition. He received general instructions to look about him and observe and report upon whatever he saw. He undertook to work for the Society for one year. He was accompanied by M. Lecomte for the purpose of executing architectural drawings.

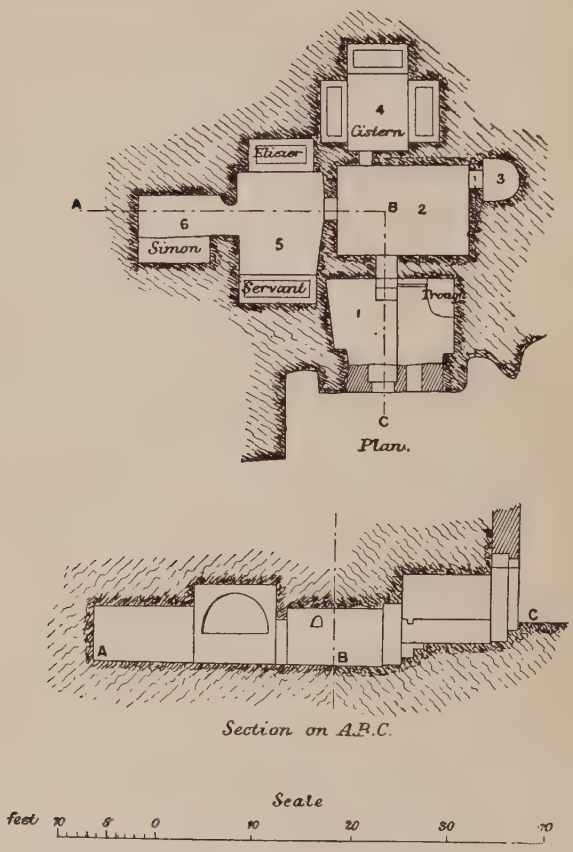
The following are the principal discoveries which rewarded his labours:—

1. The ancient Jewish cemetery of Jaffa. One of the epitaphs in marble is now in the Society's collection.
2. The identification of a head in marble found in Jerusalem with the head of Hadrian's statue set up on the site of the Holy of Holies. A cast of the head is in our possession. It has been figured in the *Quarterly Statement*, and in the Memoirs, p. 207, 1874.

3. The finding and deciphering of inscriptions on certain Judæo Christian sarcophagi on the Mount of Offence. It is remarkable that these inscriptions, which were discovered close to the Bethany road, contain the name of Lazarus, Martha, and Simon. They include: Judah Salome, wife of Judah; Judah, the scribe; Simeon the son of Jesus (Bar-Jeshúo); Martha, daughter of Pasach; Eleazer (of which Lazarus is the Greek form), son of Nathan; Judah, son of Hananiah; Salam Isim, daughter of Simon the Priest; Salampsion.
4. Proposed identification of the Stone of Bohan with the Hajar el Asbah. (Memoirs, Western Survey, Vol. III., p. 199.)
5. The discovery (simultaneously with Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake) of the great forgery of the so-called Moabite inscriptions. (*Quarterly Statement*, 1869, 1874, and 1878.)
6. The indication of the "taille mediævale," or mediæval method of dressing stones for building.

This discovery is especially useful in a country where there are ruins of every age, and where a question of identification may turn upon the date of a building.

7. Finding of an ancient cemetery north of the city.

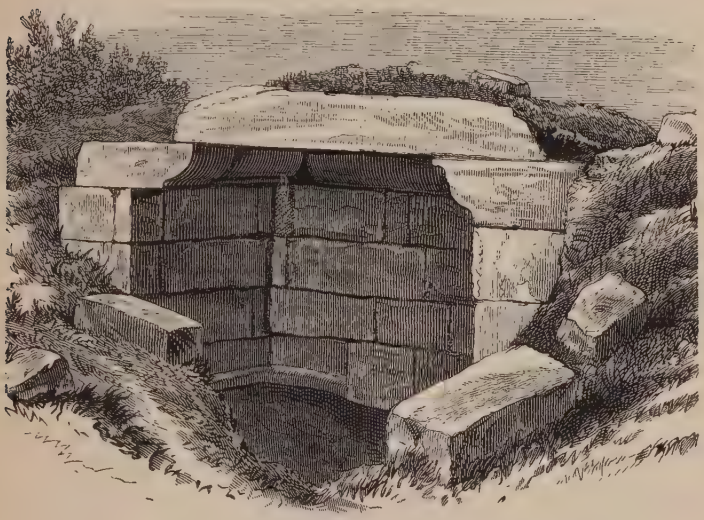



Tomb of Simon the Just.

8. Examination of many sepulchral chambers.
9. Examination of a great series of rock-cut chambers west of the Ecce Homo Church.
10. Recovery of Adullam.

The site of Adullam and its caves, one of the most

interesting sites of the Holy Land, had been variously placed. M. Ganneau has found the very name in a somewhat altered form, Aid-el-mâ, attached to a site which singularly corresponds with the necessities of the narrative, and seems to make David's history at the period connected with Adullam clear and intelligible. (Memoirs, Western Survey, Vol. III., p. 361.)



El Medyeh.

11. Drawings by M. Lecomte (over a thousand in number) of monuments and places visited by M. Ganneau. These represent among other things, architectural work in the Dome of the Rock and in the Haram Area.

12. Greek, Hebrew and Phœnician inscriptions.
13. The stone of Bethphage. Figured in the *Quarterly Statement*, p. 51, 1878.
14. The vase of Bezetha.

This beautiful and unique vase found by M. Ganneau lying shattered on the rock was completely put together, and is now in the Society's office at 1, Adam Street. Its date is said to be about that of Herod. The ornamentation is pagan.

15. Examination of the ruins of Medyeh, the Maccabæan Modin. (Memoirs, Western Survey, Vol. II., p. 341.)

M. Ganneau's letters appeared in the *Quarterly Statement* of 1874. His collections are all in the Society's exhibition now at South Kensington. Among previous discoveries made by this explorer when not connected with the Society may be mentioned,—

1. His discovery of the stone of Herod's Temple with the Greek inscription, word for word as given by Josephus.
2. His securing of the large fragments of the Moabite stone.
3. His theory of what was done with the veil of the Temple.
4. Examination of the ancient tombs existing under the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. These have also been planned by Sir Charles Wilson.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## THE SURVEY OF EASTERN PALESTINE.

THE present condition of our knowledge as regards Eastern Palestine was described in the year 1880 (*see Quarterly Statement*, January, 1881), before the survey was commenced.

It resembles very much that of Western Palestine when the survey was first commenced. The country has been visited by many travellers who have described its general features and many of its ruined cities. Among these travellers may be mentioned Burckhardt, Seetzen, Wetzstein, Irby and Mangles, Lord Lindsay, De Vogüé, Waddington, De Luynes, Porter, Costigan, Lynch, Molyneux, Robinson, Cyril Graham, Thomson, Tipping, Tristram, MacGregor, Eaton, Zeller, Wilson and Anderson, Warren, Burton, Drake, Palmer, Socin, Steever, Merrill, Klein, Freshfield and Oliphant.

Our own expeditions under Lieutenant Warren and those of the American Exploration Society east of Jordan have made reconnaissances which will facilitate the work now proposed.

The country to be surveyed comprises the following districts or provinces:—

I. Bashan, the "level" land, which extends from the southern slopes of Mount Hermon to Gilead on the south, the southern frontier being the River Hieromax, now called

the Nahr Yarmûk or the Sherîat el Mandhûr. Bashan is subdivided into :—

*a.* Jetur (Ituræa), now called Jedur, of which Philip was tetrarch (Luke iii. 1), named after Jetur, the son of Ishmael (Genesis xxv. 15, 16). It was conquered by the Manassites (1 Chronicles v. 18–23), who lived there until the Captivity. This country contains the southern and eastern slopes of Hermon and the table-land eastward.

*b.* The district named after the city of Golan (Gaulanitis) now called Jaulân. This is a table-land rising by terraces from the Jordan Valley. The city (Joshua xx. 8), which gave a name to the district, has yet to be identified. Dr. Porter says that there are a hundred and twenty-seven ruined towns in it, among them the ancient towns of Aphek, Gergesa, Bethsaida, Hippos, Gamala and Ashtaroth.

*c.* The Hauran (Auranitis), a level land, with the ruins of 150 towns, the buildings of which are still remaining in good preservation, many of them with roofs, doors, and window shutters, all of stone and still in their places. A vast number of Greek and Roman inscriptions have been collected in this district. Those found by MM. de Vogüé and Waddington have been published in de Vogüé's magnificent work on the architecture and archæology of Central Syria.

*d.* The Argob or Trachonitis, now called el Lejah, which is, correctly, a part of the Hauran. This formed part of the kingdom of Og (Deuteronomy iii. 4, 5), when it held threescore cities "fenced with high walls." Remains of more than sixty cities have been found here, but it has been

but little visited of late, and never completely explored.

*e.* East of the Hauran is the district of Batanæa containing the Hill of Bashan. This country is that of the Maachathites (Deuteronomy iii. 14; Joshua xii. 5; 2 Samuel x. 6; 1 Chronicles xix. 7).

II. The land of Gilead, including territory allotted to the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and part of Manasseh, extending southwards as far as the river Arnon.

III. Moab, whose principal cities are Dibon (where the Moabite stone was found), Rabbath Moab, and Kir Haraseth.

The following are some of the Biblical events connected with this part of the country:—

The battles of the "four kings against five" (Genesis xiv. 1-12); the destruction of the Cities of the Plain; the meeting of Jacob and Laban; that of Jacob and Esau; Jacob's vision at Mahanaim; the wrestling at Penuel; the conquest of Sihon by Moses; the battle of Edrei; the "Pisgah View;" the death and burial of Moses; the story of Balak and Baalam; the division of the land among the two and a-half tribes; the establishment of the three Levitical cities; the wars of the Manassites and Gadites with the Hagarites; the pursuit of Gideon; the revolt and victories of Jephthah; the wars of David against Ammon; the flight of Saul's sons, and that of David; the campaigns of Ahab and his son Joram with their allies, Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah; the wars with Moab; the birth of Elijah; the invasion of Tiglath Pilezer and of Hazael, and the captivity of the tribes.

Here is the River Arnon, the boundary between Moab and the Amorites, on whose banks stood Aroer, and the mysterious city "in the midst of the river." Here are Heshbon, the capital of Sihon, not far from Jahaz, where

that king met with his overthrow; Rabbath Ammon, the one city belonging to the Ammonites, besieged by Joab, and taken by David; Ramoth Gilead, which played so great a part in the wars between the Syrians and the kingdom of Judah; Gadara, whose modern inhabitants, like the demoniacs of the miracle which associates the city with the New Testament, dwell in the ancient tombs; Bethsaida Julias, the scene of the miracle of Mark vi. 31–53; Cæsarea Philippi, the northernmost point of Our Lord's wanderings, where Herod built his temple of white marble; Damascus, with the rivers Pharphar and Abana; the Bozrah of Jeremiah xlviii. 24; the river Jabbok, where Esau and Jacob met, the boundary of the Ammonites; Machærus, where John the Baptist was beheaded; Callirrhoe, whither Herod the Great repaired in hopes of recovery from his disease. On this side are also the great palace of Hyrcanus (Arak el Emir); the unfinished palace of Chosroes the Second (Mashîta); the fortress of Kerak, where Mesha sacrificed his son; and Dibon. We must not forget, also, that it was on this side that the Christian Church found a refuge during the troubled times of the siege by Titus.

The expedition for the survey of Eastern Palestine reached Beyrout on the 29th March, 1881, and having to wait for instruments, Captain Conder, with whom was Lieutenant Mantell, R.E., made a survey north and discovered (see p. 137) the long lost Kadesh of the Hittites. After visiting Baalbek, Homs and other places, the party moved southward with the intention of continuing the survey in the south. Tyre was examined, and the "Egyptian Harbour" was discovered and traced. The ancient Tyrian cemetery

[To face p. 137.

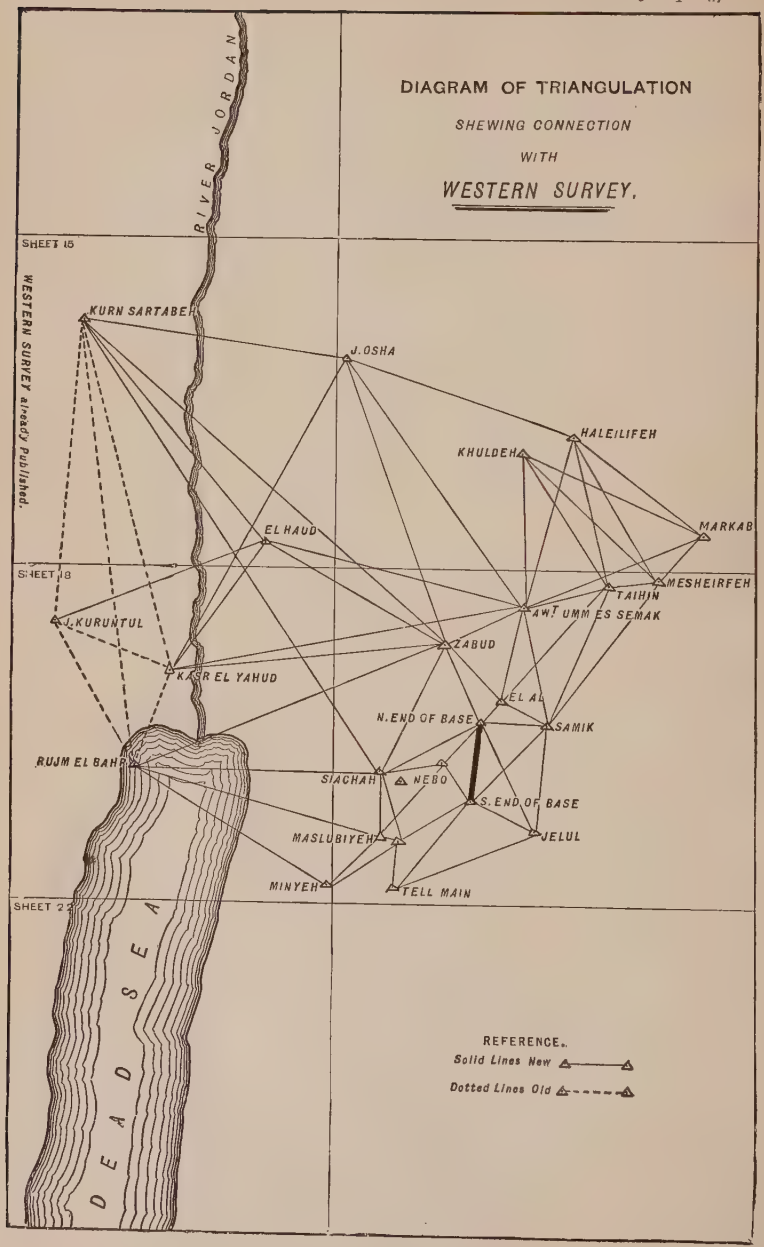


DIAGRAM OF TRIANGULATION
SHEWING CONNECTION
WITH
WESTERN SURVEY.
RIVER JORDAN
SHEET 15
WESTERN SURVEY already Published.
KURN SARTABEH
J. OSHA
HALEILIFEH
KHULDEH
MARKAB
EL HAUD
SHEET 18
MESHEIRFEH
TAIHIN
AWI UMM ES SEMAK
J. KURUNTUL
ZABUD
KASR EL YAHUD
EL AL
N. END OF BASE
SAMIK
RUJM EL BAHR
SIACHAH
NEBO
S. END OF BASE
MASLUBIYEH
JELUL
MINYEH
TELL MAIN
SHEET 22
DEAD SEA
REFERENCE.
Solid Lines New
Dotted Lines Old

was found, a probable site was discovered for the Temple of Melkath, and the mounds of Neby Mashuk and Tell Habîsh were examined.

After some delays, caused by the unsettled state of the country, Captain Conder was able to cross the Jordan and begin the survey. It was hoped that the old firman, with which the Society had worked for so long, would continue to be respected. The hope, however, proved to be ill-founded. Within a month after their arrival Captain Conder received a peremptory message from the Governor of El Salt, that the survey could not be allowed to be carried on, and that he must take his party back again. By interposing delays, Captain Conder succeeded in getting ten weeks' work in the country, and when he was at length obliged to return, it was with laden hands, for he had surveyed 500 square miles, and brought back hundreds of drawings, with the materials for a whole volume of memoirs.

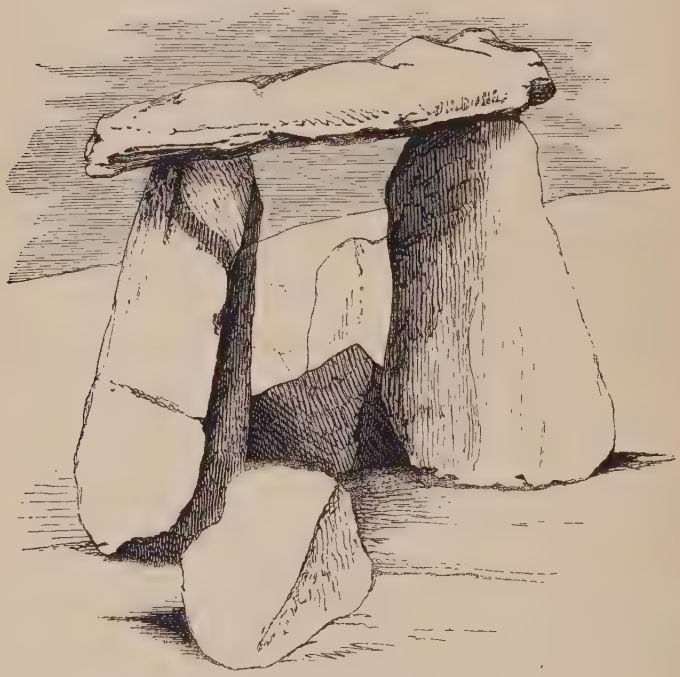
Among the more important results were :—

I. Identifications.

1. The Field of Zophim (Numbers xxiii. 14.)
2. The Ascent of Luhith (Jeremiah xlviii. 5).
3. Jazer (Joshua xiii. 25).
4. Sibmah (Numbers xxxii. 3, 38).
5. Minnith (Judges xi. 33).
6. Bamoth Baal.
7. Baal Peor.

II. Ancient Monuments.

1. Cromlechs, and other rude stone monuments. Of these hundreds were found and sketched.



Cromlech near Hesbon.

They occur for the most part in groups, and in connection with some are certain curious rock-cut chambers.

2. Ruins. The most important are those of Ammân and Arak-El-Emir. At the former

place Captain Conder sketched and planned a remarkable building, hitherto called Byzantine, which now turns out to be Persian. Two hundred ruins were examined.

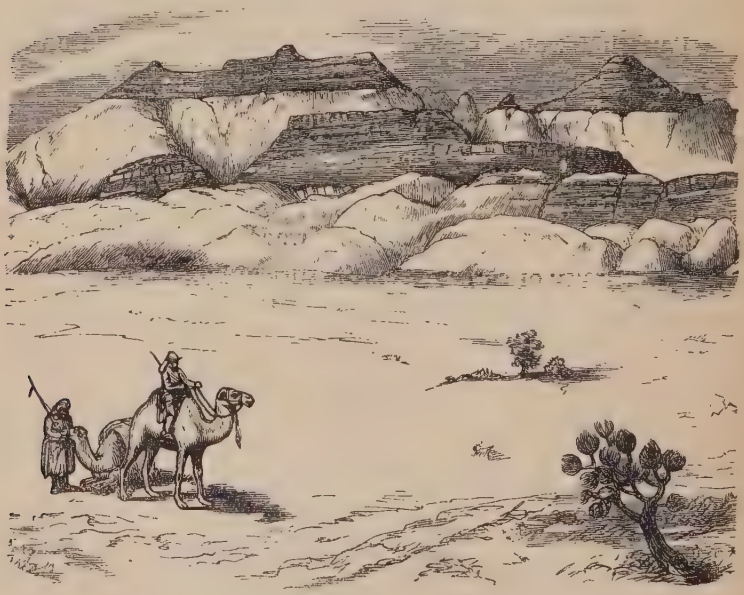
3. Names. Six hundred names were collected.
4. Examination of Sites. The principal sites examined were those of Heshbon Elealah, Medeba, Baal Meon, Nebo, and Pisgah.

Every attempt to obtain a firman has hitherto proved unavailing, so that the survey of Eastern Palestine would seem impossible. However, within the last few months we have been able, through the accident of survey work being required for other purposes, to get a few hundred miles in addition, which will be added to our map. And if, as seems probable, we do not get our firman we shall lose no opportunity of carrying on the survey by small pieces, and as occasion offers.

# CHAPTER IX.

## THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

THE Geological Survey laid down in our original prospectus has been accomplished by Prof. Edward Hull, F.R.S.



The expedition was undertaken in the winter of 1883-4. The party consisted of Prof. Hull, and his son, Dr. Gordon Hull. Major Kitchener accom-

panied the party in order to make a survey of the Wady Arabah. He was assisted by Mr. George Armstrong. Mr. E. Chichester Hart, formerly naturalist to Sir George Nares's voyage to the Arctic regions, went with them as naturalist, but at his own expense, and Mr. Reginald Laurence also accompanied the party at his own charges.

The results of the expedition have been thus summed up by Prof. Hull :—

1. A complete triangulation of the district lying beween the mountains of Sinai and the Wâdy el Arabah, together with that of the Wâdy el Arabah itself, bounded on the west by the tableland of the Tîh, and on the east by the mountains of Edom and Moab. This was entirely the work of Major Kitchener, and his assistant Mr. G. Armstrong (formerly Sergeant-Major R.E.). An outline survey along the line of route was also made, and has been laid down in MS. on a map prepared by Mr. Armstrong on the same scale as the reduced Map of Palestine, viz., $\frac{3}{8}$ inch to one statute mile, or $\frac{1}{168960}$.

2. Some important rectifications of the borders of the Salt Sea, and of the Gulf of Akabah, were also made.

3. A geological reconnaissance along the line of route through the districts of Sinai, Akabah, and the Wâdy el Arabah, including the following particulars :—

(*a*) Collections of fossils from the Wâdy Nasb limestone ; additions to those already made by Mr. Bauerman and Colonel Sir C. W. Wilson. These fossils (which are being examined by Prof. Sollas) go to show that this limestone is of Carboniferous age. The Wâdy Nasb limestone was found to continue over a considerable region north of Mount Sinai, and was again recognised amongst

the mountains of Moab on the east side of the Salt Sea in the Wâdy el Hessi. As this limestone rests upon a red sandstone foundation, this latter may also be assumed to be of the same geological age, and therefore cannot be the representative of the "Nubian Sandstone" of Rosiere, which (as Prof. Zittel has shown) is of Cretaceous age. I propose to call this formation, therefore, "the Desert Sandstone." It forms, with the limestone, a strip along the borders of the ancient rocks of Paleozoic, or Archæan, age, and is about 400 feet in average thickness; the base is generally a conglomerate.

(*b*) Above the Wâdy Nasb limestone is another sandstone formation, of which a large portion of the Debbet er Ramleh is formed. It is laid open in the Wâdies Zelegah, Biyar, &c., and along the mountains of Edom and Moab. Out of this rock have been hewn the ancient temples, tombs, and dwellings of Petra and the Wâdy Mûsa. It stretches along the southern escarpment of the Tîh plateau, and forms the base of the limestone cliffs along the margin of the Wâdy el Arabah as far north as Nagb es Salni. This sandstone formation is soft, red, or beautifully variegated. It is (in all probability) of Cretaceous age, and, if so, the true representative of the "Nubian Sandstone" of Russeger. It will thus be seen that there are two red sandstone formations, one below, the other above the Carboniferous limestone of the Wâdy Nasb.

(*c*) The geological structure of the Wâdy el Arabah was examined throughout a distance of 120 miles from south to north. That it has been hollowed out along the line of a main fault (or line of fracture and displacement) ranging from the eastern shore of the Salt Sea to that of the Gulf of Akabah, was clearly determined. The position of the fault itself was made out and laid down on the map* in six or

* The map used was an enlarged plan from Smith and Groves' Ancient Atlas (J. Murray).

seven places; one being about ten miles north of Akabah, another near the watershed, in which places the limestone of the Tîh (Cretaceo-nummulitic) is faulted against the old porphyritic and metamorphic rocks, as illustrated by the section across the Arabah Valley, given in a previous page (p. 77).

There are numerous parallel and branching faults along the Arabah Valley, but there is one leading fracture running along the base of the Edomite Mountains, to which the others are of secondary importance: this may be called "the Great Jordan Valley fault." The relations of the rocks in The Ghôr and Jordan Valley have already been shown by Lartet, Tristram, Wilson, and others, to indicate the presence of a large fault corresponding with the line of this remarkable depression, and the author considers the fracture he has observed in the Arabah Valley to be continuous with that of the Jordan.

(*d*) The ancient rocks which form the floor either of the Desert, or Nubian, Sandstone formations, consist of granite, gneiss, porphyries, and more rarely of metamorphic schists —together with volcanic rocks, consisting of agglomerates, tuffs, and beds of felspathic trap. The author is disposed to concur with Dr. Lartet in considering the gneissose and granitoid rocks to be of Archæan (or Laurentian) age, as they are probably representative of those of Assouan in Upper Egypt, which Prof. Sir J. W. Dawson has recently identified with those of this age.* The granites and porphyries are traversed by innumerable dykes of porphyry and diorite both throughout the Sinaitic mountains and those of Edom and Moab; and the author considers it probable that the volcanic rocks which are largely represented along the bases of Mount Hor, and of Jebel es

* Dawson has shown, however, that there are two metamorphic series in Upper Egypt. *Geol. Magazine*, October, 1884.

Somrah near Es Safieh, are contemporaneous with these dykes. As far as the author was able to observe, none of these dykes penetrate the Desert or Nubian Sandstones, and, if so, they may be considered of pre-Carboniferous age. The upper surface of the ancient rocks was originally extremely uneven, having been worn and denuded into ridges and hollows, previous to the deposition of the Desert Sandstone; over this irregular floor the sandstone strata were deposited.

4. The occurrence of terraces of marl, gravel, and silt through which the ravines of existing streams have been cut at an elevation (according to aneroid determination) of about 100 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, was taken to show that the level of the Salt Sea (Bahr Lut) at one time stood about 1,400 feet higher than at present. These beds of marl were first observed at the camp at 'Ain Abu Beweireh; they contain blanched shells of the genera *Melanopsis* and *Melania*. The beds of marl were observed to be enclosed by higher ground of more ancient strata in every direction except towards the north, where they gently slope downwards towards the borders of The Ghôr, and become incorporated with strata of the 600 feet terrace.

5. The author concurs with Dr. Lartet in thinking that the waters of the Jordon Valley did not flow down into the Gulf of Akabah after the land had emerged from the sea; the disconnection of the inner and outer waters was very ancient, dating back to Miocene times.

6. The occurrence of beds of ancient lakes—consisting of coarse gravel, sand, and marl—amongst the mountains of Sinai, and in the Wâdy el Arabah, where now only waterless valleys occur, taken in connection with other phenomena, have impressed the author with the conviction that the former climatic conditions of Arabia Petræa were very different from those of the present day. Such terraces have

been observed by Dr. Post in the Wâdy Feirân, and Colonel Sir W. Wilson in the Wâdy Solaf, and by the author in the Wâdies Gharandel, Goweisah, Hamr, Solaf and Es Sheikh or Watiyeh. It would appear that, at a period coming down probably to the prehistoric, a chain of lakes existed amongst the tortuous valleys and hollows of the Sinaitic peninsula. The Gypseous deposits of Wâdy Amarah and 'Ain Hawareh are considered to be old lake beds, and Mr. Bauerman has observed remains of fresh-water shells (*Lymnæa truncatula*) and a species of *Pisidium* in "lake or river alluvium" of the Wâdies Feirân and Es Sheikh (*Quart. Jour. Geol. Soc.*, Vol. XXV., p. 35.)

7. The author considers it probable that these ancient Sinaitic lakes belong to an epoch when the waters of the Mediterranean and of the Red Sea rose to a level considerably higher than at present; and when, consequently, there was less fall for the inland waters in an outer direction. The evidence of a submergence, to a depth of a least 200 feet, is abundantly clear in the occurrence of raised beaches or sea beds with shells, corals, and crinoids, of species still living in the adjoining waters. The raised beaches of the Mediterranean and Red Sea coasts have been observed by the officers of the Ordnance Survery, and by Fraas, Lartet, Schweinfurth, Post, and others. They were observed by members of the Expedition at the southern extremity of the Wâdy el Arabah, and shells and corals were found round the camp of the 3rd December at an elevation of about 130 feet above the Gulf of Akabah.

These ancient sea beds are represented in the Egyptian area by the old coast-line of 220 feet, discovered by Fraas along the flanks of the Mokattam Hills above Cairo, and recently described by Schweinfurth. (Über die geol. schichtungliederung de. Mokattam bei Cairo; Zeit. d. Deuts. Geol. Gessel, 1883.) The period in which the sea

rose to this level may be stated in general terms as the Pliocene, but it continued downwards till more recent times; and the author believes that at the time of the Exodus the Gulf of Suez reached as far as the Great Bitter Lake (*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1884). It is scarcely necessary to observe that throughout the longer portion of this period of submergence Africa was disconnected from Asia.

8. The Miocene period is not represented by any strata throughout the district traversed by the Expedition. The author considers that in this part of the world the Miocene period was one of elevation, disturbance, and denudation of strata; not of accumulation. To this epoch he refers the emergence of the whole of the Palestine, and of the greater part of the Sinaitic areas, from the sea, in which the Cretaceo-nummulitic limestone formations were deposited. To the same epoch also he considers the faulting and flexuring of the strata is chiefly referable; and notably the formation of the great Jordanic line of fault, with its branches and accompanying flexurings of the strata—which are very remarkable along the western sides of The Ghôr. These phenomena were accompanied and followed by extensive denudation, and the production of many of the principal physical features of the region referred to.

9. The evidences of a Pluvial period throughout this region are to be found (*a*) in the remains of ancient lake beds, (*b*) in the existence of terraces in the river valleys, (*c*) in the great size and depth of many valleys and gorges, now waterless except after severe thunderstorms, and (*d*) in the vastly greater size of the Salt Sea (or Dead Sea), which must have had a length of nearly 200 English miles from north to south, at the time when its surface was at a higher level than that of the Mediterranean at the present day. The author considers that this Pluvial period extended from the Pliocene through the post-Pliocene (or Glacial) down

to recent times. As it is known, from the observations of Sir J. D. Hooker, Canon Tristram, and others, that perennial snow and glaciers existed in the Lebanon during the Glacial epoch, the author infers that the adjoining districts to the south of the Lebanon must have had a climate approaching that of the British Isles at the present day; and that, in a region of which many parts are over 2,000 feet in elevation, there must have been abundant rainfall. Even when the snows and glaciers of the Lebanon had disappeared, the effects of the colder climate which was passing away may be supposed to have remained for some time, and the vegetation to have been more luxuriant down to within the epoch of human habitation. The author's views generally coincide with those of Theobold Fisher, as extended by him to a much wider area (Studien über das Klima der Mediterranean Lander," Peterman's Mittheilungen, 1879).

10. The author considers that there are reasons for concluding that the outburst of volcanic phenomena in North-Eastern Palestine in the region of the Jaulan and Hauran, &c., has an indirect connection with the formation of the great Jordan Sea of the Pluvial period. The presence of water in considerable volume is now recognised as necessary to volcanic activity, and the author submits that this interdependence was brought about when the waters of the Lake stretched as far north as the little Lake of Hûleh. These waters, under a pressure of several hundred feet, would find their way into the interior of the earth's crust along the lines of the great Jordan Valley fault, and of its branches, and thus supply the necessary "steam power" for volcanic action. The period when the volcanoes of the Jaulan and Hauran were in action appears to have ranged from the Pliocene through the post-Pliocene to the beginning of the recent; when, concurrently with the falling away and

partial drying up of the waters of the great inland sea, the volcanic fires became extinct and the outpourings of basaltic lava ceased to flow.

If these views are correct, it would seem that during the Glacial epoch, Palestine and Southern Syria presented an aspect very different from the present. The Lebanon throughout the year was snow-clad over its higher elevations, while glaciers descended into some of its valleys. The region of the Hauran, lying at its Southern base, was the site of several extensive volcanoes, while the district around, and the Jordon Valley itself, was invaded by floods of lava. A great inland sea, occupying the Jordon Valley, together with the existing comparatively restricted sheets of water, extended from Lake Hûleh on the north, to a southern margin near the base of Samrat· Fiddân in the Wâdy el Arabah of the present day, while numerous arms and bays stretched into the glens and valleys of Palestine and Moab on either hand. Under such climatic conditions, we may feel assured a luxuriant vegetation decked with verdure the hills and vales of Palestine and Arabia Petræa to an extent far beyond that of the present; and amongst the trees, as Sir J. D. Hooker has shown, the cedar may have spread far and wide.

11. The author has not thought it necessary to go into the question of the origin of the salinity of the Salt Sea, as this question is now fully understood. He is obliged to differ with Dr. Lartet in his view of the origin of the salt mountain, Jebel Usdum,* which he (the author), as also Mr. Hart, regards as a portion of the bed of the Salt Sea, when it stood about 600 feet above its present level. This level exactly corresponds to that of the terraces, both along the south and east of the Ghôr, formed of lacrustine

* Lartet regards the strata of this mountain as belonging to the Nummulitic period.

materials. The upper surface of Jebel Usdum was examined by Messrs. Hart and Laurence, of the Expedition, but previous explorers had considered the sides inaccessible.

12. The author concurs with previous writers in considering that the Cretaceous and Tertiary periods succeeded each other over this region (at least as far as the marine deposits are concerned) without any important physical disturbances; in consequence of which the limestone formations of these periods are in physical conformity and are generally incapable of separation without prolonged and detailed examination. It seems probable, however, that while the Nummulitic limestones predominate in the Egyptian and Nubian areas, those of the Cretaceous period were more fully developed over the area of Arabia Petræa and Palestine.

13. A complete series of meteorological observations, consisting of maxima and minima readings of the thermometer, and levels of the barometer, were made by Mr. Laurence, and will appear in the scientific work to follow.

# CHAPTER X.

## SMALLER EXPEDITIONS.

FROM time to time some special piece of work has been taken in hand by the Committee as opportunity offered.

Thus, among other journeys, may be mentioned:—

1. Mr. Greville Chester's visit to the Island of Ruad.

This curious place, the ancient Aradus, has been very seldom visited. Mr. Chester's account of it will be found in the *Quarterly Statement*, p. 218, 1875.

2. Mr. Greville Chester's visit to the cities of the Delta and the Lacus Serbonicus.

This journey will be found in the *Quarterly Statement*, p. 133, 1880.

3. Warren's Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon.

This was a summer visit to escape the great heats of Jerusalem. The stay in the hills was utilized by sketching and planning a great number of the ruined Temples, the summit of Hermon, &c.

4. Captain Conder's discovery of Kadesh of the Hittites. *Quarterly Statement*, 1881 and 1882.

The following is Captain Conder's own account of this discovery:—

Before detailing our observations on the spot, it will perhaps be best briefly to explain the reasons why special interest attaches to this site. The conquest of the great eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties of Egyptian kings, in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries before Christ, extended over the greater part of Palestine and Syria, and even as far as Asia Minor. Amongst their most formidable opponents were the Kheta, a light-coloured hairless people, wearing high caps and dresses somewhat similar to those of the Assyrians, but specially distinguished by their pointed and turned up boots, like the modern Turkish slipper. The Kheta are by most antiquarians identified with the Hittites who inhabited northern Syria (Joshua i. 4), and who had monarchs of their own in the time of Solomon (1 Kings x. 29; 2 Kings vii. 6). Thothmes III encountered these formidable mountaineers in his expedition against Meggido, and one of the pylons at Karnak, discovered by the late Mariette Bey, gives a list of towns, including the names of Kinnesrin, Aradus, Aleppo, and other places in Northern Syria conquered by Thothmes III. after his subjugation of the plains of Palestine and Galilee.

The most important contest was, however, that between Rameses II. and the Hittites, in the fifth year of the Egyptian monarch's reign, when he marched against the city of Kadesh on Orontes. A formidable league was formed to oppose him. The Wysians, the Teurcians, the Dardanians, the inhabitants of Aradus, Aleppo, and Carchemish, and even the Trojans (Iluna), and the tribes of Mesopotamia (Naharain), are said to have gathered to the Hittite standard, with many other unknown tribes. On the hieroglyphic pictures the Semitic bearded allies are

distinguished by dress and arms from the beardless Hittites, who are supposed by some antiquarians to have belonged to a Turanian or Turkoman race from Asia Minor, which had overrun and subjugated the fertile plains of the Orontes, and had even penetrated to the very borders of the Egyptian territory.

According to the ordinary chronology, the expedition of Rameses II. occurred while Israel was being oppressed by Jabin, King of Hazar, with his chariots of iron; and, as it is clear from Egyptian records that the Canaanites were allies or tributaries of the Egyptians at this period, it is highly probable that the iron chariots came from Egypt, and belonged to that formidable force of chariots which Rameses brought up to the plains of Kadesh to subdue the Hittites. The route pursued by Rameses was no doubt controlled by the impossibility of crossing rugged mountains with a force of chariots, and the road which we know him to have followed either on his return or on his advance—and probably on both occasions—led along the sea-coasts towards Tripoli, passing the Dog River north of Beyrout, where three tablets carved in the rocks by his order still exist.

Thothmes III., who had attacked Kadesh in the thirtieth year of his reign, founded a strong fortress near Aradus (er Rûad) and Zamira (es Sumra), near the River Eleutherus), at the foot of Lebanon, and it seems probable that Rameses would have advanced from the same fortress—that is to say, from the western plain across the pass which separates the Lebanon from the Ansieriyeh mountains, and leads from Tripoli to Homs.

The town of Kadesh on Orontes is generally said to have been on an island in a lake; but the representation in the Ramessum at Thebes of the great battle between Rameses II. and the Hittites appears rather to show a fortress sur-

rounded by a river and situated not far from the borders of a lake. The name of this river in the hieroglyphs is Arunatha, or Hanruta, and the city is described as lying "on the western bank of Hanruta at the lake of the land of the Amorites."

The various references to Kadesh on Orontes were kindly collected for me in 1880 by the Rev. H. G. Tomkins. The portion of the great battle-piece representing the town is to be found copied in Sir G. Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," Vol. I., p. 257. The city is shown with a double moat crossed by bridges; on the left a broad stream flows to the lake, but on the right the piece is obliterated, and it is impossible to see whether the moat ran all round, or whether the town lay between the junction of two streams. Three higher and two smaller towers are shown, and the Hittite army occupies the ground to the left of the river, near the shores of the lake.

Mr. Tomkins also called my attention to another representation of the town to be found in the Denkmäler of Lepsius (III., plates 158, 159), where the plan is a long oval with a single moat. Three high towers are seen projecting above the rest, and the moat leads downwards on the left, and also away on the right, no bridges being shown.

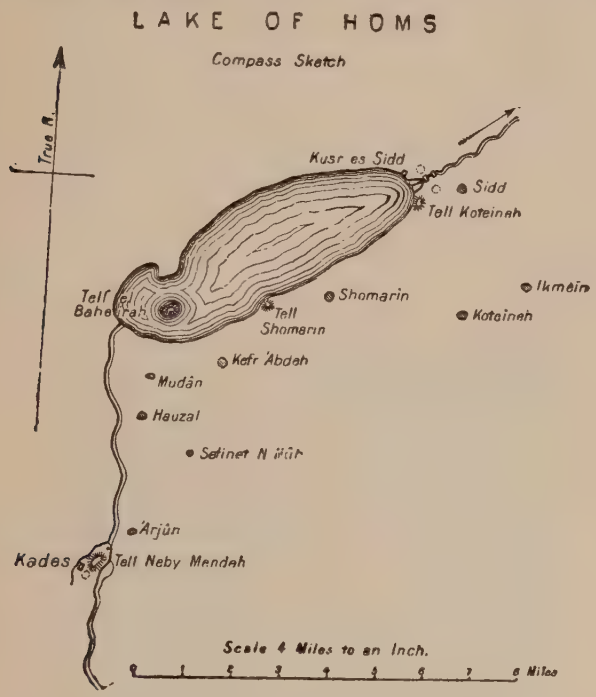
The lake, near or in which Kadesh stood, has long been identified with the Baheiret Homs, or Baheiret Koteineh, the lake 6 miles long and 2 miles broad, through which the Orontes passes between Riblah and Homs, about 8 miles south-west of the latter town. This lake, according to Abu el Feda, the geographer, was called in his times Bahr et Kades; but the title is no longer known, and the actual site of Kadesh was doubtful. It is true that an island exists in this lake, but the Egyptian account of the fight cannot be understood easily on the supposition that this island, three-fourths of a mile distant from the shore, was the place

attacked, and I was never able to understand the topography of the battle until, when standing on the true site of Kadesh, it became suddenly all clear.

The Egyptian army was arrayed south of the city of Shabatun, with the brigade of Amun behind and the brigade of Ra west of Shabatun. Shasu (or Arab) spies were here brought before the Pharaoh and gave false intelligence to the effect that the King of the Hittites was far away, near Aleppo, whereas he lay really in ambush behind the town of Kadesh. Rameses accordingly began to *descend* towards the region north-west of Kadesh, and there halted to rest. His scouts here informed him of the secret which they had extorted from some Hittite prisoners, and the forces near Shabatun was ordered to advance. The King of the Hittites passed over the ditch south of Kadesh and fell upon and routed the brigade of Ra, which retreated "on the road *upwards* to the place where the king was." Rameses was thus attacked on his right flank, and his retreat cut off by 2,500 chariots of the allies. He, however, charged the Hittites, and drove them before him to the Orontes, where many of their soldiers and chariots were lost, and where the king of Aleppo was drowned. The battle is said to have been "in the plain of the land of Kadesh." On the following morning, Rameses attacked the city, which yielded to him, and a peace was made with the Hittite king and written on a plate of silver, the text of which venerable treaty remains to the present day preserved in the official account of this campaign.

Such, then, was the problem to be solved—the discovery of a moated city on Orontes near the lake of Homs, in such a position as to agree with the minute description of the Egyptian scribe. This site we lit upon unexpectedly in the important ancient city generally known as Tell Neby Mendeh, situate on the left bank of Orontes about four

English miles south of the lake of Homs: for we discovered that the name Kades was known to all the inhabitants of the vicinity as applying to extensive ruins on the south side of this great Tell, while Neby Mandeh is the name of an




important sacred shrine on the highest part of the hill, close to which a small Arab village has now grown up. Not only is the name of Kadesh thus preserved, but in looking down from the summit of the Tell, we appear to see the very double moat of the Egyptian picture, for while the stream of Orontes is dammed up so as to form a small lake, some 50 yards across on the south-east of the site, a fresh brook

flows on the west and north to join the river, and an outer line of moat is formed by earthen banks, which flank a sort of aqueduct parallel with the main stream. The united waters flow northwards from the Tell, and fall into the lake of Homs. Thus only on the south is Kadesh not naturally protected with a wet ditch, and the moat may very possibly have formerly been completed by cutting a cross channel from Orontes to the northern stream.

In addition to the Society's work proper, we have received for publication, from time to time, most valuable observations and notes of travel and discovery, by a great many travellers, especially by Sir Charles Wilson, Mr. Laurence Oliphant, Mr. Guy Le Strange, Rev. F. W. Holland, Dr. Selah Merrill, and Dr. Clay Trumbull, and several valuable papers by Dr. Chaplin.

# CHAPTER XI.

## THE MONUMENTS OF THE COUNTRY.

### I. JERUSALEM.

The principal monuments in the Holy City (*see* "Survey of Western Palestine," the "Jerusalem" volume, "Architectural History of Jerusalem," p. 5–116) are as follows:—

The walls of the Upper City. The great rock

Tomb of Nicodemus.

scarps may be as old as the time of David, eleventh century B.C.

The so-called tomb of Nicodemus west of the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre Church. This has been proposed for the burial place of David, Solomon, and the more famous of the succeeding kings. Its form is that of the oldest class of Jewish tombs. The identification depends first of all on the course of the Second Wall which must be proved to include the tomb within it.

The great tunnel from the Upper Spring to the Pool of Siloam is certainly older than the captivity. The inscription lately found in it is believed to refer it to Hezekiah (2 Chronicles xxxii. 4, 30).

The Wall of Ophel, discovered by Captain Warren, is at least as old as the time of Nehemiah.

The rocky scarp of the Tower of Baris, identified by Wilson and Warren with the scarp now existing at the north-west angle of the Haram, is at least as old as the second century B.C.

The "Cotton Grotto" was a quarry used probably by Solomon, certainly by Herod.

The old rock-cut monuments in the Kedron Valley probably belong to the Hasmonean period, *i.e.*, the second century B.C.

The so-called "Tombs of the Kings" are supposed to be the sepulchre of Queen Helena of Adiabene and her sons.

The so-called "Tombs of the Judges" are said by the Jews to be the tombs of the chiefs of the Sanhedrim, also of the Hasmonean period.

The Temple walls, now the lower courses of the wall of the Haram Area, are believed by Captain Conder to have been entirely reconstructed by Herod. Sir Charles Wilson has discussed the masonry of these walls in a paper published in the *Quarterly Statement* of January, 1881. The subject is also treated by Sir Charles Warren in the "Jerusalem" volume.

"Hezekiah's Pool" is supposed to be the Pool Amygdalon of the "Towers" mentioned by Josephus, 5 "Wars," xi. 4. It is in that case at least as old as the Herodian period.

The low level aqueduct from Bethlehem was constructed by Pontius Pilate.

Besides these monuments, the subterranean passage discovered by Warren, the chambers at and about Wilson's Arch, the substructures discovered by him in and round the walls of the Haram, the double Souterrain north-west of the Haram, with its passage leading to the Haram Wall, part of the "Tower of David" are probably all præ-Christian.

The present walls appear to have been built on the same lines as those of Hadrian, A.D. 136. The Ecce Homo Arch is also supposed to be of his construction and the Birket Israil is also attributed to him by some.

The Basilica of the Anastasis, built by Constantine, has been long destroyed and replaced by successive churches, of which the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre is the last.

The Dome of the Rock was built, according to all the Arabic historians, by Abd el Melek, in the year 688, A.D. It is allowed, however, that he employed Byzantine architects.

The Mosque el Aksa was built by Justinian, under the name of the Basilica of St. Mary, and was much altered by Abd el Melek and his successors.

A history of all the successive buildings in the city will be found in the "Jerusalem" volume already referred to. The remaining monuments are the Golden Gate, the Double Gate, the vaults called Solomon's Stables, the Robinson's Arch, the Birkel el Mamilla, and the Birket es Sultan, the Pool of Bathsheba, the Virgin's Fountain, the Pool of Siloam, Bîr Eyûb, the so-called Gate Gennath, &c.

II. The Moabite stone.

On the 19th day of August, in the year 1868, the Rev. F. A. Klein, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, found the stone at Dhibán. Mr. Klein, though in the service of an English society and a clergyman of the Church of England, was a French subject, being a native of Strasburg, at that time a French town. Most unfortunately, Mr. Klein withheld his discovery from his countryman M.

Clermont Ganneau, who, had he been left alone, would certainly have obtained an exact copy, and probably have secured it. With equal want of judgment, he withheld it from his own colleagues, and from the English Bishop. They would have communicated it to Captain Warren, then in the city. He would, if any man, have been able to get the monument brought across the Jordan. But he went to the German Consul, Dr. Petermann.

Here was the grand mistake of the whole business. Either Captain Warren or M. Clermont Ganneau could have got up the stone, whole and uninjured, for a few napoleons, because the Arabs *were wholly unacquainted with its value.* One or two attempts were secretly made by Dr. Petermann to get the stone by means of native agents. They failed, and doubly failed, because they taught the Arabs the value of the stone. Then an appeal was made to the Turkish Government—the most fatal mistake of all; for the stone was in the possession of Beni Humaydah (not the Beni Hamidah, as stated by error in the article on the Moabite Stone in the "Recovery of Jerusalem"), the wildest of the wild tribes to the east of Jordan. They were smarting, too, at the time from the effects of the Belka Expedition, led by Rashid Pasha in person; and, says Captain Burton, "knowing what a *dragonnade* meant, they were in paroxysms of terror at the idea of a raid."

The secret by this time had oozed out, and was perfectly well known to Captain Warren, the Rev. Dr. Barclay, and M. Clermont Ganneau. It was decided by Captain Warren that it would be best at this point to leave the matter in the hands of Dr. Petermann. Observe that any interference on his part would have probably tended to complicate matters, and might have led to a still earlier destruction of the monument. In the spring of 1869, Captain Warren, with his party, went to the Libanus. Dr. Petermann, too, left Jerusalem for Berlin, *after personally assuring M. Ganneau that the whole affair had fallen through.* Captain Warren away, and the Prussians having desisted from their endeavours, the coast was clear for M. Clermont Ganneau.

M. Ganneau got a squeeze of the whole—in rags it is true, but still a squeeze. Then came the catastrophe. The wild Arabs, terrified at the prospect of another raid, angry at the probable loss of a stone which possessed supernatural powers in their eyes, lit a fire under the priceless relic, threw cold water on it when it was red-hot, and so smashed it into pieces. Captain Warren obtained squeezes of the two larger fragments; and then the work of decipherment, history, controversy, and recrimination began. After all that has been said as to its history, one thing is clear: *the blame of its destruction rests neither with Captain Warren nor with M. Clermont Ganneau.* Had Mr.

Klein gone openly in the first instance to the former, there is not the slightest doubt that this most invaluable monument would be now lying, intact and entire, in the British Museum, in the Louvre, or in Berlin. No matter where, provided only it had been saved.

For it is a monument which yields in importance to none yet found. It is a narrative by a Moabite king of his battles and conquests. It is like another page added to the Bible. It takes us back to the time of King Omri and King Ahab ; and it takes us nearer to the origin of our own alphabet than any other document yet discovered. In every way it is a gain. It has a value historical, a value geographical, a value linguistic, a value theological, a value palæographic. It has this value, mutilated as it is. It would be priceless indeed, could we recover enough of the upper surface to read it without doubt or hesitation. The number of letters on the monument was a little over 1,000. The number preserved is 669. Subjoined is the translation given by M. Clermont Ganneau, June, 1870:—

I am Mesa, son of Chamosgad, King of Moab, the Dibonite. | My father reigned thirty years, and I have reigned after my father. And I have built this sanctuary for Chamos in Qarha [sanctuary of salvation], for he has saved me from all aggressors and has made me look upon all my enemies with contempt. |

Omri was King of Israel, and oppressed Moab during many days, and Chamos was irritated at his aggressions. |

And his son succeeded him, and he said, he also, "I will oppress Moab." | In my days I said "I will . . . him . . . . . and I will visit him and his house." | And Israel was ruined, ruined for ever. Omri gained possession of the land of Medeba. | And he dwelt there . . . [Ahab] his son lived forty years, and Chamos made him [perish] in my time. |

Then I built Baal Meon and constructed Qiriathaïm. |

And the men of Gad dwelt in the country of [Ataro]th from ancient times, and the King of Israel had built the city of Ataroth. | I attacked the city and I took it, | and I killed all the people of the city, as a spectacle to Chamos and to Moab, | and I carried away from there the . . . and I dragged it to the ground before the face Chamos at Qerioth, | and I brought there the men of Saron (or of Chofen) and the men of Maharouth (?).

And Chamos said to me, "Go; take Nebah from Israel." | I went by night, and I fought against the city from dawn to midday, | and I took it: and I killed all, seven thousand [men, and I carried away with me] the women and the young girls; for to Astar Chamos belongs the consecration of women; | and I brought from there the vessels of Jehovah, and I dragged them on the ground before the face of Chamos. |

And the King of Israel had built Yahas, and resided there during his war with me. | And Chamos drove him from before my face: I took from Moab two hundred men in all; I made them go up to Yahas, and I took it to annex it to Dibon. |

It is I who have built Qarha, the Wall of the Forests and the Wall of the Hill. | I have built its gates, and I have built its towers. | I have built the palace of the king, and have constructed the prisons of the . . . in the midst of the city. |

And there were no wells in the interior of the city in

Qarha : and I said to all the people, "Make you every man a well in his house," | and I dug | cisterns for Qarha for | . . . of Israel. |

It is I who have built Aroer, and made the road of Arnon. |

It is I who have built Beth Bamoth, which was destroyed. | It is I who have built Bosor which (is powerful) . . . Dibon of the military chiefs, for all Dibon was submissive. | And I have filled . . . with the cities which I have added to the land (of Moab). |

And it is I who have built . Beth Diblathain, and Beth Baal Meon, and I have raised there the . . . the land. | And Horonaim, he resided there with . . . | And Chamos said to me, "Go down and fight against Horonaim." | . . . Chamos in my day . . . the year . . . .

III. The stone of Zoheleth.

The following is M. Clermont Ganneau's account of the discovery :—

Nearly in the centre of the line along which stretches the village of Siloam, there exists a rocky plateau surrounded by Arab buildings, which mask its true form and extent; the western face, cut perpendicularly, slightly overhangs the valley. Steps rudely cut in the rock enable one to climb it, not without difficulty, and so to penetrate directly from the valley to the midst of the village. By this road, troublesome, and even dangerous, pass habitually the women of Siloam, who come to fill their vessels at the so-called "Virgin's Fount" (Ain Sitti Mariam, Immed-deraj). Now, this passage and the ledge of rock in which it is cut are called by the fellahîn "Ez Zehwele." It is impossible not to be struck with the absolute identity which this name offers with that of the *stone of Zoheleth*, which the Bible (1 Kings i. 9) places near (אצל) Ain Rogel. It is quite

sufficient, in fact, to compare the Hebrew and Arabic to determine with what precision the phonetic elements correspond. The vocal type itself is exactly reproduced, putting aside an insignificant inversion of the sound *O*, which in Hebrew precedes, and in Arabic follows, the consonant ח. A homogeneous transcript will present us with this identity in still clearer manner. Hebrew: *Zohelet*; Arabic: *Zehoelet.*

I believe, then, that we can consider the situation of the stone of Zoheleth definitely determined. This point fixed with certainty can serve to determine the position of many others of the highest interest. At present I can only indicate a few, proposing to return to the question at length at some future time. For example, it becomes extremely probable that we must put *En Rogel* at the *Virgin's Fountain*, and not at *Bîr Eyub.* In fact, Bîr Eyub is 700 metres distant from Zehwèlé, and the Pool of Siloam is 400 metres; while the Virgin's Fountain, situated exactly opposite Zehwèlé, is only separated from it by the breadth of the valley, about 60 metres. I call attention to the importance of this result in tracing the line separating the territories of Benjamin and Judah, which passed by Ain Rogel, and the support which it affords to Captain Warren's ingenious theory of the direction of this line.

I must advance another fact which appears to me intimately connected with this remark, and to confirm it in a certain measure. We know the multiplicity of denominations under which the great eastern valley of Jerusalem, so commonly called the Kedron is known. The fellahîn of Siloam divide it into three sections, which are, proceeding from north to south: 1st, Wady Sitti Mariam; 2nd, Wady Fer'aun; 3rd, Wady Eyub. The name of the intermediate part, which extends from the south-east angle of the Haram to the confluence at the north of Bîr Eyub, is remarkable: *Wady Fer'aun* that is, *Pharaoh's Valley.* Now it is well

known that to the Arabs, the name of Pharaoh simply indicates the idea of something or other of ancient times, and it is found with this vague meaning in a crowd of places which have nothing to do with Egypt, very much as in France, where all Roman camps are for the vulgar, Cæsar's camps. Wady Fer'aun signifies, then, the *valley of the king*, and the region to which this name is applied is precisely that which the *King's Gardens* of the Bible used to occupy.

IV. The inscribed stone of the Temple.

M. Clermont Ganneau thus described his discovery in the *Athenæum* of June 10th, 1871:—

Permit me to make known, in a few words, an important discovery which I have just made in Jerusalem. It is one of those tablets which, in the temple reconstructed by Herod, forbade strangers, as Josephus tells us, from passing the sacred enclosure—the prohibition being written in Greek and Latin. The tablet which I have found bears the following inscription in Greek in seven lines:—

ΜΗΘΕΝΑΑΛΛΟΓΕΝΗΕΙΣΠΟ
ΡΕΥΕΣΘΑΙΕΝΤΟΣΤΟΥΠΕ
ΡΙΤΟΙΕΡΟΝΤΡΥΦΑΚΤΟΥΚΑΙ
ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΥΟΣΔΑΝΛΗ
ΦΘΗΕΑΥΤΩΙΑΙΤΙΟΣΕΣ
ΤΑΙΔΙΑΤΟΕΞΑΚΟΛΟΥ
ΘΕΙΝΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ

The characters are monumental in size, and present the appearance which one would expect in an inscription of the period.

The translation is :—

"No stranger is to enter within the balustrade (τρυφακτος) round the temple and enclosure. Whoever is caught will be responsible to himself for his death, which will ensue."

The passage of Josephus to which I have made allusion, is as follows :—

"When you go through these first cloisters unto the second (court of the seven temples), there was a partition (δρυφακτος) made of stone all round, whose height was three cubits ; its construction was very elegant. Upon it stood pillars at equal distances from one another, declaring the laws of purity, some in Greek, and some in Roman letters, that no 'foreigner should go within that sanctuary.'"*

The connection between this text and our inscription is striking. The expressions and the forms are similar : μὴδενα 'αλλόφυλον is the exact equivalent of our μήδενα 'αλλογενῆ ; "the second ἱερον," says Josephus, is surrounded by the "δρύφακτος." Our inscription says "the τρύφακτος which is round the ἱερον." The variant τρύφακτος is singular, and probably points to one of the faults of pronunciation in use amongst the Jews speaking Greek at this period. We must observe that Josephus does not speak of the tragic fate which menaced him who might violate the rule ; his silence is certainly intentional.

We may boldly affirm that this Greek inscription is not only the most ancient, but also the most interesting, in all its bearings, which Jerusalem has yet produced. I cannot in this simple letter follow out all the questions which it raises ; that must be the object of a special mémoire. I will confine myself only to remark the principal points which attach to it ; the fixing of a certain palæographic scale for Greek inscriptions already discovered, or yet to be discovered, in Jerusalem ; the form and dimensions of the tablet, which may determine the use of the three cubit balustrade which it surmounted ; appearance and workmanship of the stone,

* Whiston's translation is here given.

permitting us to specify technically the blocks of Herodian work, and to distinguish them from those cut at a previous date; striking confirmations of the exactness of Josephus's descriptions; authentic and contemporaneous definitions of the different parts of the temple; the τρύφακτος (*sored* of the Talmud?), the ἱερον, the περιβόλη &c., &c.

The episode in the Acts of the Apostles (xxi. 26, *et seq.*) throws on, as well as receives from, this precious inscription great light. Paul, after purification, presents himself in the temple; the people immediately rise against him, because certain Jews of Asia believed that Paul had introduced into the temple a Gentile, Trophimus of Ephesus, and had thus polluted the sacred place. They are about to put him to death when the Tribune commanding at Fort Antonia intervenes and rescues him from the hands of his executioners. The people demand of the Tribune the execution of the culprit, *i.e.*, the "application of the law."

V. The inscription in the Pool of Siloam.

This inscription, by far the most important of any yet found in Jerusalem, was accidentally discovered in August, 1880. On hearing of it, the Committee sent out authority to Dr. Chaplin to expend the money required to lower the water in order to examine it more carefully, and to take copies of it. It has been examined and copied by Captain Conder, Herr Guthe, M. Clermont Ganneau, Prof. Sayce, and others. The forms of the letters are closely like those of the Moabite stone, the words being divided by points. A cast has been taken of the inscription. The translation is thus given by Prof. Sayce (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1881):—

(1) Behold the excavation! Now this is the history of the tunnel. While the excavators were lifting up

(2) the pick, each towards the other; and while there were yet three cubits to be broken through . . . the voice of the one called

(3) to his neighbour, for there was an excess (?) in the rock on the right. They rose up . . . . they struck on the west of the

(4) excavation, the excavators struck, each to meet the other, pick to pick. And there flowed

(5) the waters from their outlet to the Pool for a distance of a thousand cubits; and (three-fourths?)

(6) of a cubit was the height of the rock over the head of the excavation here.

Its date is believed to be that of Hezekiah.

VI. The Head of Hadrian.

A statue of Hadrian erected on the site of the Holy of Holies in that emperor's reign was the cause of the last revolt under the Bar Cochebas. The Head of this statue was found by M. Clermont Ganneau in Jerusalem, and is here figured.

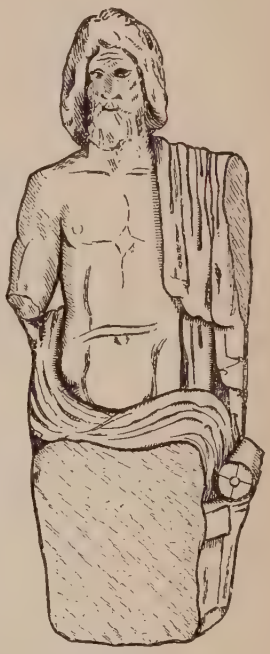
VII. The Gaza Jupiter. Concerning this statue, Captain Conder wrote in 1882 from Constantinople:

This great statue was discovered, in 1880, by the natives at Tell 'Ajjûl, south of Gaza, and we owe its preservation to the exertions of the Rev. W. Shapira, the missionary. The Arabs had at once commenced to break up the statue, and had succeeded in greatly damaging the face. Mr. Shapira persuaded the governor to set a guard over the place, and the antiquarians of Palestine owe

Head of Hadrian.

him a debt of gratitude for having prevented the entire destruction of this unique monument. A paper descriptive

of the statue will be found in the *Quarterly Statement*, with the measurement of its principal proportions. I now send a copy of the sketch which I have just made from the original in the porch of the Stamboul Museum. The suggestion which I ventured to make at the time seems to me to be fully borne out, and there can, I imagine, be little doubt that the figure is intended for a Jupiter. The principal deity of Gaza was called Marna (*i.e.*, מרנא "Our Lord"), and was worshipped as late as the fifth century A.D. (Epiphanius Adv Hœret). He was a deity who controlled the rain, and his temple was destroyed by St. Porphyirus (Acta Sanct). According to Lenormant he was a god similar to the Cretan Jupiter and the Phœnician Eshmun — the chief among a group of seven or eight deities ("Lettres Assyriologiques," Vol. II., Letter V., p. 165, *seq.*). These seven *Cabiri* or "great ones" appear to have all had temples in Gaza. That of Marna, destroyed by the Christians, was round, with two outer porches or circles—a kind of Druidical circle perhaps. His other titles were "the living," "the eternal," "the universal," "the everlasting." It seems probable that the statute at Constantinople may be that of the Jupiter Marna of Gaza. The nose and face have been damaged, but the arrangement of the hair reminds one of the classic Jupiter. The



The Gaza Statue.

right arm is broken above the elbow, the left appears to have been sawn off. The figure was seated on a bench, but the legs have also apparently been sawn off in front. These mutilations had been, I believe, effected before the statue was discovered, and it seemed to me possible that the pious pagans may have buried their Jupiter to save him from the Christians, and may have been obliged to divide it for facility of transport.

## VIII. The Gezer inscriptions.

The following was written by M. Clermont Ganneau in the field after finding the first; a second inscription was afterwards discovered.

But the most important inscription of all, the discovery of which is the grand result of this campaign, is that of Gezer. I have already touched upon it in a few words written hastily from Jaffa.

Here, then, are new details on the subject, pending the full study which will accompany the original. I send you a drawing of the inscription, made by M. Lecomte with his accustomed care and ability. This may serve as a basis for the observations of *savants*. I was the first to establish the identity of Tell el Jezer (the Abu Shusheh of the maps) with the royal Canaanite city of Gezer, hitherto vainly sought and generally placed at Yasûr. I communicated this discovery to different persons at Jerusalem, and during my last stay in France I had the honour of reading before the Academy of Inscriptions a memoir on the subject, which was only partially published.

I now remember that, when I had finished the reading, the President of the Academy asked me if I had found on the spot any inscription confirming this identification, made,

so to speak, *à priori*, and having for *point de départ* a little-known passage in Medjr ed Din.

I was obliged to confess that I had not in support of my theory any proof of this kind, and that I could only quote, outside my narrow base, the classical and critical arguments which from the time of Robinson have served to establish the principal Biblical identifications.

Very well ;—this unhoped-for proof, improbable even in Palestine, where not a single corresponding example has been met with, I have had the great fortune to find.

At a very short distance from Tell el Jezer, on the east side, the text in question exists, engraved on a slab of rock nearly horizontal, and very nearly two metres in length.

It is bilingual : it begins with the Greek word ΑΛΚΙΟ —in characters of classical epoch, immediately followed by the Hebrew letters of ancient square form, of which nothing, I think, can be made except תהמ+גזר.

In the second word we have *the very name of Gezer just as it is written in the Bible.*

As to the first, I can see nothing else than the defective form of תהומ. The omission of the *vau* is perfectly admissible considering the remote period at which the inscription was written.

As for the signification of the word, it is clearly that of *limit.* The word is not Biblical, but it is frequently employed in the Talmud to determine the distance that must not be exceeded on the Sabbath day—תהומ השבת.

The Hebrew inscription must, then, be translated as *limit of Gezer.*

Is this the hieratic, or simply the civil limit?

Two facts appear to argue in favour of the first conjecture :—

1. The special acceptation of the word תהומ in the Talmudic language.

2. The quality of the city Gezer as belonging to the group of Levitical cities, so that the observation of the Sabbatical limits would be more rigorously observed than elsewhere.

I have no time to enter into the still obscure question of the length of a Sabbath day's journey. I reserve that for the special publication of this precious text, which will perhaps actually solve it, if it means really the Sabbatical limit and not a non-religious boundary.

I need not recall the well-known passage, Numbers xxxv. 2–34,* where the limits of the Levitical cities and these suburbs are so exactly ordered. It may very well be that in the same radius round Tell el Gezer we may find at the other cardinal points similar inscriptions. I mean to look for them.

One particularity on which I must insist, as it may enlighten us on the real destination of this singular and unique inscription, is that of its position. The letters are placed so as to be read, not by any one who came from Gezer and intended to cross the hieratic boundary, but by one who, coming from without, sought to pass within. This makes me inclined to believe that we have not simply a warning for the Sabbatic rest, but a line of demarcation much more important and necessary.

Let me recall, *en passant*, the fact that Gezer was a frontier town of Ephraim, though I would not pretend to see a tribe-limit in this city boundary.

Gezer was a Levitical city (Joshua xxi. 21). "They gave [the Levites which remained of the children of Kohath] Shechem with her suburbs in Mount Ephraim to be a city of refuge for the slayer; and Gezer with her suburbs."

* Ver. 5. "Ye shall measure from without the city on the side two thousand cubits, and on the south side two thousand cubits, and on the west side two thousand cubits, and on the north side two thousand cubits, and the city shall be in the midst," &c.

It is also possible that the Sabbatical limit was the same as the Levitical.

However that may be, our inscription fixes one point of some perimeter about Gezer. The operations of measurement which we shall proceed to make will perhaps show us whether this radius is one, two, or three thousand cubits, or whether it is of the length indicated by several authors as that of the ὁδὸς σαββάτου.

What is the date of the inscription? Palæographically and historically it seems that we may boldly assign it a date previous to Titus as a minimum limit.

I should not even hesitate to put it at the Maccabean period during which Gezer plays so important a part, and becomes a political and military centre. The Greek and Hebrew characters may very well belong to the first century before Christ. The date, I believe, may thus vary between the two extreme points.

The name of Ἄλκιος does not help us in fixing it. Is it the name of a priest, or of a governor of Gezer? It indicates Hellenised habits which would be repulsive to the first Asmonæans, and which tend to bring our inscription down to Herodian times, in which Hellenism was flourishing.

As to the truncated form Αλκιο, that may be explained by the fact of the two texts, Hebrew and Greek, being placed end to end on the same line; and commencing one at the right and the other at the left, the engraver carving his Greek word after the other, could not find room for the whole word, his O abutting on the ר of the word *Gezer*. Besides, a broken place in the rock between the Λ and the K took up a portion of the space at his disposal.

I think that the limit of the protecting boundary was not marked only by this inscription on the level of the ground, and difficult to see, but, besides, by some salient sign, some landmark, or *cippus pomœrius*, which has disappeared, the

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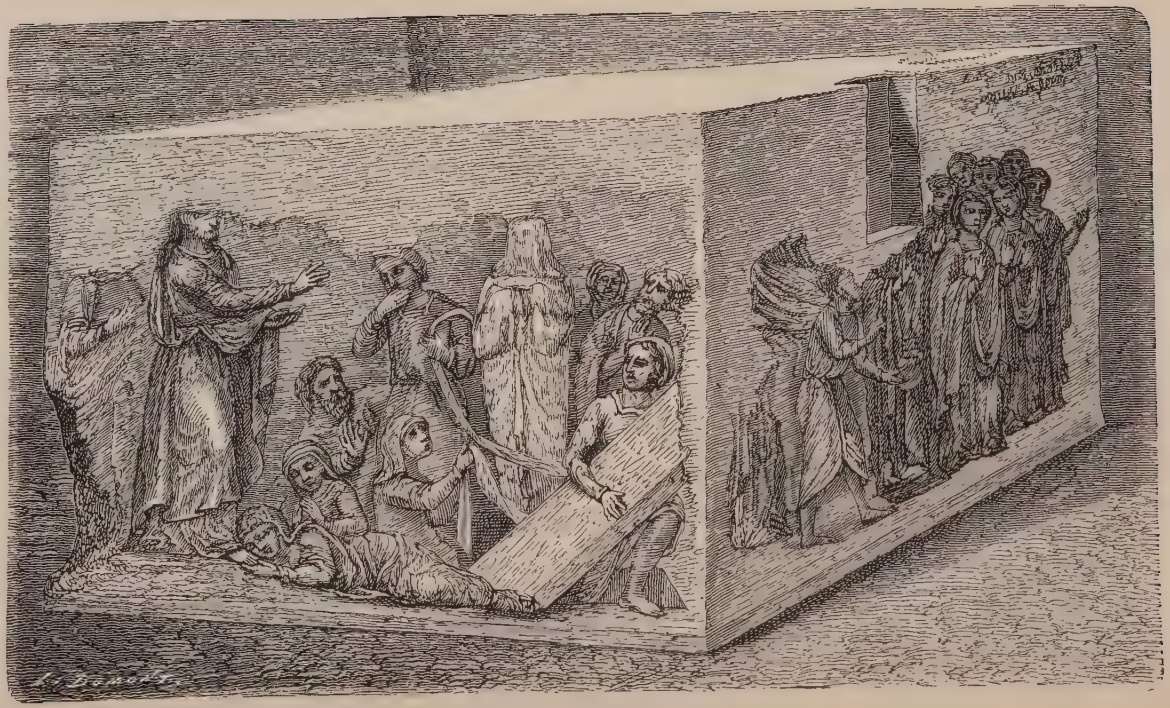


The Stone of Bethphage.

the traces of which I intend to look for. The existence of indicative marks seems pointed out clearly in Numbers xxxv. 4–26.

To sum up, this discovery has for its chief results—

1. The finding of a Hebræo-Greek text of ancient date, very important in Jewish epigraphy.

2. The positive confirmation that Gezer is really at Tell el Jezer, as I had shown from critical considerations.

This startling confirmation of an identification obtained solely by an inductive method has its weight in other Biblical identifications established on the same principles, gives them legitimacy, so to speak, and confirms the degree of credibility which belongs to them.

3. The probable solution of the much disputed controversy of the Sabbath day's journey and the hieratic limits of Levitical cities.

4. A well-grounded hope of finding in the environs of Gezer and the other Levitical cities analogous inscriptions.

The whole of the discoveries at and about Gezer are fully described, with plans and a map, in the "Survey of Western Palestine," Memoirs II., p. 428–434.

IX. The stone of Bethphage.

This stone, with its frescoes representing the raising of Lazarus and the disciples bringing the ass, is a Crusading monument discovered by Frère-Liêvin, copied by Captain Guillemot and commented upon by M. Clermont Ganneau. It is curious and interesting, because it is proved by this learned archæologist to have been the traditional stone on

which Our Lord rested when He sent the disciples "to the village" (Matthew xxi. 2).

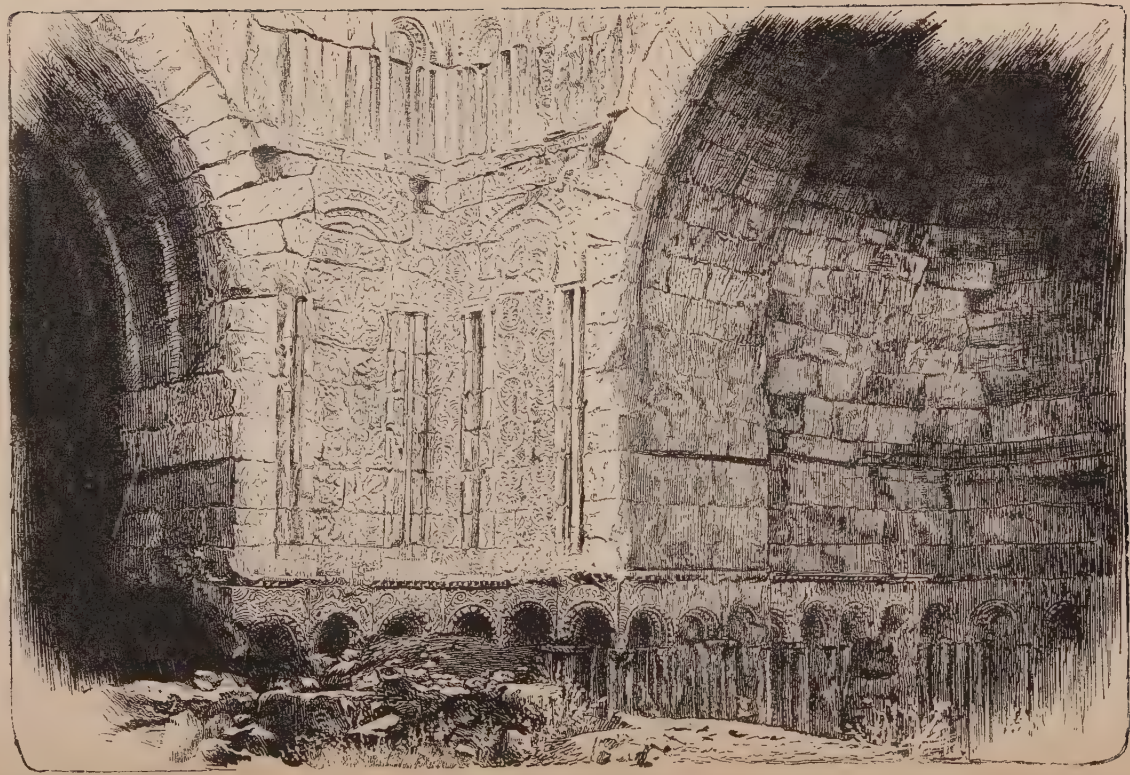
X. The Hamath inscriptions. Copies of these are in the Society's collection at the South Kensington Museum. Since their re-discovery, some fifteen years ago—they had previously been seen by Burckhardt—many other fragments of inscriptions in the same character have been found. No attempt to read them has as yet been generally accepted. The reason why they were attributed to the Hittites, may be found in Dr. Wright's "Empire of the Hittites."

XI. The Sassanian building at Ammân.

The most important point in the detailed survey of Ammân, on the East of Jordan, was the examination of a small building on the top of the citadel hill at 'Ammân. It had been visited and described by Consul Finn, Colonel Warren, and Canon Tristram, but as none of these explorers were able to remain very long at this site, it had not been fully described. It has generally been supposed to be of Byzantine origin, and has been variously described as a church and a mosque. An inspection of the enclosed plan and details will, however, perhaps serve to show that the building is equally unlike either the Byzantine churches, or the Arab mosques of Palestine, and that it has, indeed, an unique character, and is well worth minute study.

The building stands in the middle of the courtyard of the Temple, and is irregularly built, so that the west side measures 85 ft., the east 81 ft., the south 80 ft. It has a central open court 33 ft. square, from which arched recesses open back, each measuring about 18 ft. square.

[*To face p.* 179.

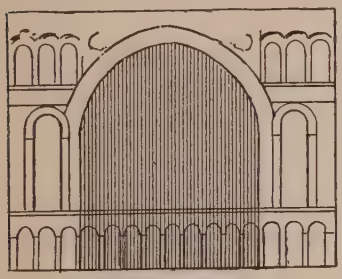


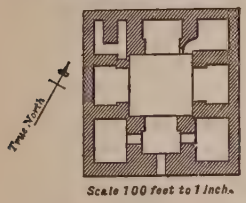
Sassanian Building at Ammân.

In the four corners are small vaulted chambers, and in the north-west angle are remains of a staircase which appears to have led up from the outside to the roof.

It does not seem that the central court was ever roofed over. The entrance to the building is from the south, and seems to be of the same date with the main part of the buildings, although traces of reconstruction may, perhaps, be suspected on the south wall. There was another entrance on the north, now blocked.

The main feature of the building is, however, the elaborately sculptured ornamentation of the inner walls. The accompanying drawings will serve to show the style of this ornamentation, which, as a whole, is quite unlike any sculpture found in Western Palestine. The designs differ on the different walls, and the sculpture does not seem to have been finished, as some of the panels are left plain; and the tracery on the north wall seems to be incomplete. The sculpture is in low relief on stone of fair consistency, taken from the neighbouring limestone quarries.






Plan and Section of Sassanian Building.

On either side of the bold central arch is a sculptured panel with an arched head, standing on a string course with three smaller arch-headed panels beneath, and three others again above. The bas-reliefs in the larger panels differ in each case, one as shown representing two rows of circles enclosing geometrical designs, while another gives

a stiff conventional tree pattern not unlike the sacred conventional tree of Asshur which is found on Assyrian bas-reliefs. There is an entire absence of any figures of birds or animals, and in this respect the sculpture differs from that of the famous Sassanian Palace at Mashita, discovered by Canon Tristram, not far from the present site, although in other respects there is a similarity between the two buildings in detail.

Among the details will be observed a flat dog-tooth moulding, which somewhat resembles the ornament applied by the Crusaders to arches in their early churches of the 12th century,—as, for instance, in the beautiful west window of the Muristân at Jerusalem, of which a photograph was taken by Lieutenant Kitchener, R.E. The vine-bunches which occur in the interior of some of the lower panels are also interesting; similar conventional vine-patterns occur not only on the later Jewish tombs of the period when Greek art influenced the native sculptors, but also in Byzantine tombs and chapels of the 5th and 6th century in Western Palestine.

The most valuable features are, however, the arches and the pilasters of the panels. It is very curious to note that in this small structure, the round arch, the pointed arch, and the Moorish arch all occur together, the two later forms being in an embryonic condition which architects will probably consider very interesting. The great central arches, which form the face of the tunnel-vaults of the four recessed chambers, appear to have a very slight and almost imperceptible point of which the attached photograph will give a fair idea. The shape is, indeed, almost exactly the same as that of the arches supporting the dome in the Jerusalem Dome of the Rock. It has long been a subject of debate whether the arches in the latter building were round or pointed. Those in the outer arcade, which are covered

with ancient glass mosaic, are round, those in the inner arcade under the dome have a very slight and almost imperceptible point, as can be seen in the photograph taken in 1874 at my request by Lieutenant Kitchener, where three arches are shown directly facing the spectator. These arches are now, however, covered with marble casing, so that it is not quite certain whether the structure beneath may not be a round arch; but the new example from 'Ammân serves to throw some light on this question.

The feature of the slender coupled columns with very simple capitals is also worthy of special attention, as will be noticed immediately. The Moorish form of the interior of the arches above the larger panels will be noticed on the elevation.

In his valuable critique on the Palace of Mashita, Mr. Fergusson compares that building with the Sassanian architecture of Persia, instancing the great buildings of Tak Kesra and Taki Gero; and he also draws attention to the connection between Persian and Byzantine architecture. The elevation of Takt-i-Kesra presents several features of remarkable similarity to the details of the building on the hill at 'Ammân. The great central archway; the walls panelled with arches divided by coupled columns having a single cap; the use of round, pointed, and stilted arches in one structure, are common to the two buildings, and the inference is natural that the 'Ammân example may prove to be of Sassanian origin—an inference supported by the existence of the Mashita Palace in the same district, since Mr. Fergusson has decided that this latter must be referred to the time of Chosroes II.

There is, however, one great difference remarked between the 'Ammân building and the Mashita palace, namely that no figures of birds or beasts occur in the former. This suggests that the 'Ammân building may probably be the

work of a Moslem people, and thus, perhaps, one of the earliest Arab structures subsequent to the conquest by Omar.

The early Khalifs, including 'Abd el Melek, employed Greek architects in Syria, and Coptic Christians in Egypt, to build their early mosques; but it is not less certain that the influence of Persian art was strongly felt by the half-civilised Arabs. The historian Ibn Khaldûn, as quoted by Lane, writes thus: "When they ceased to observe the strict precepts of their religion, and the disposition for dominion and luxurious living overcame them, the Arabs employed the Persian nation to serve them, and acquired from them the arts and architecture, and then they made lofty buildings." Mr. Poole has, moreover, pointed out, in commenting on this passage, that probably the Persian influence had affected the Greeks of the Eastern Empire before it reached the Arabs, and that some of the peculiarities of Byzantine art may, perhaps, be best explained by comparison with Sassanian buildings.

If the conclusion be considered correct that the building on the hill at 'Ammân is an early specimen of Moslem work under Sassanian influence, the comparison with the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem is instructive and interesting.

In addition to the peculiarities of the arches common to the two buildings, it may be noted that at Jerusalem in the outer wall of the Dome of the Rock, we have the same feature of large round-headed panels (pierced in some instances with windows) having above them a second tier of smaller panels, with simple coupled columns between. Probably also some resemblance may be recognised between the details of the ornamentation, as, for instance, the conventional vine-pattern which occurs also (in bronze) on the wooden architrave which spans the round arches of the arcade in the Dome of the Rock.

The Dome of the Rock, which, according to the ancient

Cufic inscription in the interior, was built by Moslems in 688 A.D., is a building recognized as presenting features of very Byzantine appearance. The comparison with the Moslem building at 'Ammân may, perhaps, be considered to throw some light on the explanation which may finally be expected of the pecularities of its architecture.

There are, unfortunately, no traces of any inscription on either the mosque or the upper building at 'Ammân, beyond a rudely carved religious formula above noticed, which seems to have been cut at a late period by an unskilled hand.

It should be noted, finally, that the Moorish arch (a segment of a circle greater than half) not only occurs in the upper building, but seems also to have been used in the arched ribs supporting the mosque roof. The arches have fallen, but the haunch stones in some cases remain, and are corbelled out so as to present a reverse curve, which is rather ornamental than really structural.—*From* Captain Conder's *Reports*.

XII. The rude stone monuments.

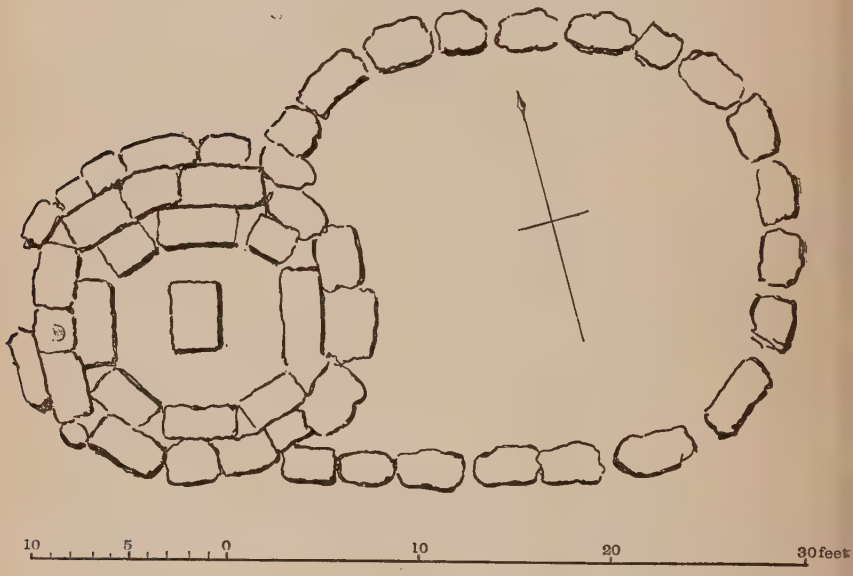
There are but one or two of these in Western Palestine, but in the East, so far as it has yet been explored they abound. Thus Captain Conder wrote in November, 1881 :—

In a former report I described briefly some of the rude stone monuments which we examined at Hesbân, but as yet I have not given any account of the still more interesting groups which we discovered later, including structures of seven different kinds, viz. : 1. dolmens (or cromlechs) : 2. Menhirs or standing stones ; 3. cubical stones in circles or standing alone ; 4. Circles of rude stones piled in a heap ; 5. Rude pillars ; 6. Cairns ; 7. Disk stones.

Of these the cromlechs or dolmens (whichever be the correct title) are the most numerous. In Wâdy Hesbân

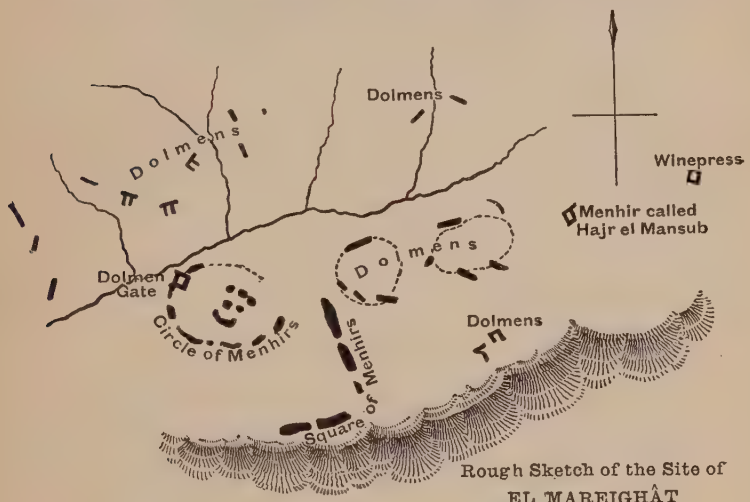
there are about 50; round Wâdy Jideid there are groups which give together a total of about 150. On the north side of the Zerka M'aîn there is a large group, numbering some

Minyeh Rude Stone Monument.



150. At Mount Nebo there are only a very few in connection with a large stone circle and cairn. At 'Ammân we discovered 8 in all, very much scattered. Near the Jabbok

there is another group not yet visited, and in the Ghôr es Seisebân, for a distance of about two miles, between Wâdy




Rough Sketch of the Site of
EL MAREIGHÂT

Kefrein and Wâdy Hesbân, all the spurs are covered with dolmens, numbering between 200 and 300 in all, while north and south of these limits not a single specimen can be found for many miles. The total of 600 to 700 is thus divided into seven very distinct groups, each occurring in the vicinity of fine springs, and of hill-tops commanding an extensive view; and the impression which I noted in my former report is fully confirmed, for the dolmens are not scattered over the country without system, but are confined to localities at considerable distances apart, where they are crowded close together, generally appearing to group round a central point on a hill-top.

Although no previous traveller has been enabled to examine carefully all the groups mentioned, the discovery of such monuments dates back more than sixty years, to the

time when Irby and Mangles made their adventurous journey to Moab and Gilead. At a later period the dolmens have been briefly described by Dr. Tristram; and some of the menhirs have been visited and measured by Herr Conrad Schick.

XIII. Among all the monuments of the country there is certainly none, if the associations claimed for it be allowed, which are of greater interest than that supposed by Captain Conder to be none other than the Golgotha and the Tomb near it. He says (*Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 201):

I find that the identification of the hill above Jeremiah's Grotto with the probable site of Calvary, which depends mainly on the fact that, according to Jewish tradition, this was the ancient place of public execution, has found favour with a large number of intelligent readers. I have already explained that we are indebted to Dr. Chaplin for discovering the tradition; but there are several facts in connection with this most interesting question which I have only recently ascertained.

The modern Arab name of the place is *el Heidhemûyeh* ("torn down"), but this is a corruption of the earlier *Adhemîyeh* as given by Mejr ed Dîn, and there seems no doubt that it is derived from the tomb of a son of the famous Edhem, a historical character. The Sheikh of the Jerusalem Haram gave me this explanation, which is confirmed by Dr. Chaplin. It appears also from Mejr ed Dîn, that the neighbourhood immediately east was called es Sahira, and was an ill-omened place connected in the imagination of Mosiems with death and judgment (like the Kedron Valley beyond it). Possibly in this we may have

some trace of the ill-omened site of the ancient place of execution.

Another point concerning this hillock has been noticed by recent visitors, who have seen in its outline a resemblance to a skull. This was mentioned to me by the Rev. A. Henderson, but I could not then remember the circumstance. On walking from the north-east corner of Jerusalem towards the rock I perceived, however, what was meant. The rounded summit and the two hollow cave entrances beneath do, indeed, give some resemblance to a skull, as may be seen in a photograph taken from this point of view by Lieutenant Mantell, which I enclose. It is the skull of

Newly discovered Tomb, 200 yards west of Jeremiah's Grotto.—View from East.

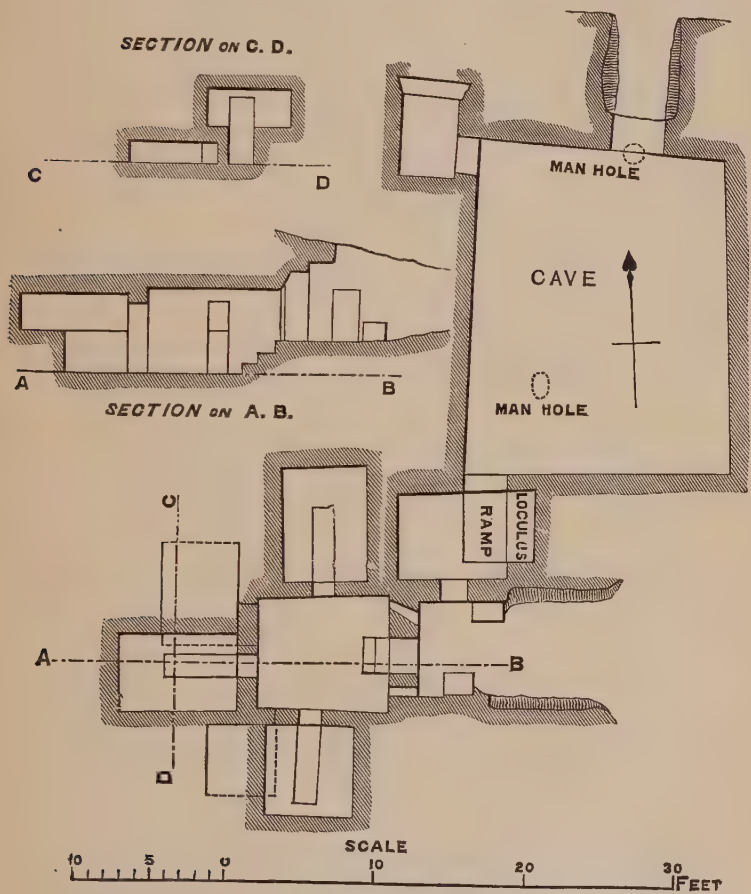
an animal rather than of a human being, and I should not like to base an argument on so slight a resemblance. It is, however, of interest to note the fact, as many persons consider that Golgotha was a name derived from the form of the ground, rather than from the use of the site as a place of burial or of execution.

It is more important to notice that the site of Jeremiah's Grotto is peculiarly fitted for a place of execution in consequence of its commanding position. From the summit the eye roams above the city walls over the greater part of Jerusalem, while on the west the ground rises beyond the intervening valley like a theatre. There is hardly another spot near Jerusalem so fitted to be the central point for any public spectacle.

Still more interesting is a discovery which I made about a week ago of an indisputably Jewish tomb immediately west of the knoll in question. It has only recently been opened, and has not been as yet described, I believe, by any visitor. It is cut in the east face of a very curious rock platform measuring about 70 paces either way—as shown on the Ordnance Survey about 200 yards west of the grotto. The platform is roughly scarped on all sides, in an apparently artificial manner, and on the west is a higher piece of rock, also with sides rudely scarped. The rest of the space is fairly level, but there seem to be traces of the foundations of a surrounding wall in some low mounds near the edge of the platform. I have long been aware of the existence of a curious cistern in the north-east corner of this scarp. It has a domed roof with a man-hole, and also a door with a passage 10 ft. long and 3 ft. wide, leading out eastwards. The cistern is about 8 paces in diameter, and three steps lead down from the door to the level of the cistern floor. The excavation seems originally to have been a chamber afterwards converted into a cistern, and there are

sockets for the door-hinges and for bolts in the passage entrance.

The ancient tomb is some thirty paces further south, and the entrance is also from the east. The whole is very rudely




Newly discovered Jewish Tomb near the city, 200 yards west of Jeremiah's Grotto.

cut in rock, which is of inferior quality. The doorway is much broken, and there is a loophole or window 4 ft. wide either side of the door. The outer court, cut in the rock, is 7 ft. square, and two stones are so placed in this as to give the idea that they may have held in place a rolling stone before the door. On the right (or north) is a side entrance, leading into a chamber with a single loculus, and thence into a cave, some 8 paces square and 10 ft. high, with a well-mouth in the roof.

The chamber within the tomb entrance is reached by a descent of two steps, and measures 6 ft. by 9 ft. From either side wall and from the back wall is an entrance 20 in. wide and about 5½ ft. high, leading into a side chamber. A passage runs in continuation of each entrance for 4½ ft., and on each side is a bench about 2½ ft. wide and 2¼ ft. high. A similar bench occurs at the end, the whole width of each chamber being thus 5½ ft., its length 7 ft. 2 in., and its height from 5 to 6 ft. Each would contain two bodies lying beside the passage, but there would scarcely be room for three. In addition to these three chambers, there are two excavations on the floor-level, in the further corner of the central chamber. They are about 5 ft. square, with narrow entrances, and were scattered with human bones at the time of my visit.

The discovery of this tomb is of no little importance in connection with Jerusalem topography. If it be compared with the great cemetery at Sheik Ibreik, and with the monument of Helena at Jerusalem, it will be seen to belong to the later Jewish period—the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. It is not a Christian tomb, so far as can be judged, for the Christians in Palestine seem mainly to have used the "rock-sunk" tomb. A cemetery of tombs of the form commonly used by the Crusaders was found in 1873 near the north-east angle of the Jerusalem

city walls, but no Jewish tomb has ever been found before so close to the ramparts of the modern city on the north: the next nearest being the tomb discovered in 1873, about 300 yards further north.

It would be bold to hazard the suggestion that the single Jewish sepulchre thus found is indeed the tomb in the garden nigh unto the place called Golgotha, which belonged to the rich Joseph of Arimathea; yet its appearance so near the old place of execution, and so far from the other tombs in the other cemeteries of the city, is extremely remarkable. I am sorry to say that a group of Jewish houses is growing up round the spot. The rock is being blasted for building-stone, and the tomb, unless preserved, may perhaps soon be entirely destroyed. It is now in a disgusting condition of filth, which shows that the Jews have little reverence for the old sepulchres of their ancestors. Perhaps some of our readers might feel willing to redeem this most interesting monument from its present state of desecration, and to purchase and enclose the little plot of rocky ground in which it stands. Without such preservation the sepulchre is doomed to destruction sooner or later.

The platform of rock in which the tomb is cut seems possibly to have been the base of a group of towers with a scarped foundation.

The distance from the monument of Helena, and the position with respect to the Cotton Grotto, agrees with the description given by Josephus of the position of the "Women's Towers" (*see* "Handbook to the Bible," p. 342). If the third wall actually extended over this line, it is easy to explain why no other tombs of the same period exist so close to the present city. The extension of the fortifications rendered it necessary to remove the cemetery further off, since the Jews did not allow sepulture within the walls. The cisterns may have belonged to the period when

the great towers were here erected, and the passage with steps may even have been a postern from the towers.

If we could feel any reasonable certitude that in this single Jewish tomb (dating about the time of Christ) we have recovered the actual sepulchre in which He lay, an easy explanation of the loss of the site is afforded at once; for the construction, some ten years later, of the "Women's Towers" by Agrippa, upon the rock over the tomb, would have caused the monument to be hidden beneath, or within the new buildings; and thus the sepulchre could no longer be visited, and in course of time its existence was forgotten until the zealous Helena destroyed the Venus Temple on the present site of the Holy Sepulchre Church, and "beyond all hope" (as Eusebius words it) discovered the rock-cut Jewish tomb, which the faithful accepted as the tomb of Christ.

## XIV. Jacob's Well.

This well was examined by the late Major Anderson, who was lowered to the bottom in the year 1866. He thus described it:—

Jacob's Well is situated at the spot where the Vale of Shechem merges into the Plain of El Mukna, and the site is acknowledged by Jews, Moslems, and Christians. The existence of a well sunk to a great depth in a place where watersprings on the surface are abundant is sufficiently remarkable to give this well a peculiar history. It is remarkably characteristic of the prudence and forethought of the great Patriarch, who, having purchased a parcel of ground at the entrance of the vale, secured on his own property, by dint of great toil, a perennial supply of water at a time when the adjacent watersprings were in the hands of unfriendly, if not actually hostile neighbours.

In the midst of a mass of ruined stones, among which are two or three columns still standing, is a vaulted chamber about 15 ft. square, and in the floor of the chamber are two openings 4 ft. apart, one of which is the proper mouth of the well. The other opening is either an accidental breach, or has been designedly made in a rough and ready way for the convenience of having two mouths, by which pitchers could be lowered into the well simultaneously. The true mouth of the well has a narrow opening just wide enough to allow the body of a man to pass through with arms uplifted, and this narrow neck, which is about 4 ft. long, opens out into the well itself, which is cylindrically shaped and about 7 ft. 6 in. in diameter. The mouth and upper part of the well is built of masonry, and the well appears to have been sunk through a mixture of alluvial soil and limestone fragments till a compact bed of mountain limestone was reached, having horizontal strata which could be easily worked, and the interior of the well presents the appearance of being lined throughout with rough masonry.

The well, when examined in 1866, was only 75 ft. deep, but there can be no doubt that the original depth was much greater, as quantities of rubbish have fallen into the well from the ruins of the buildings that formerly covered it, and passers-by for many centuries have probably thrown stones into it. Robinson states that the well in 1838 was 105 ft. deep, and if his measurement is correct, *débris* to a depth of 30 ft. has accumulated in thirty eight years. In 1875 the depth was found by Lieutenant Conder to be 75 ft., the same as in 1866. The well was undoubtedly sunk to a great depth for the purpose of securing, even in exceptionally dry seasons, a supply of water, which at great depths would always be filtering through the sides of the well and would collect at the

bottom. When examined in April, 1866, the well was dry, but an earthenware pitcher was found at the bottom of the well and not broken, which would indicate that water still collects in the well at some seasons, as the pitcher would have been broken had it fallen upon the stones.

The vaulted chamber over the well might possibly be the crypt of the church built over the well about the fourth century.* Arculphus, one of the early travellers in Palestine, describes the church in the form of a cross and the well in the middle; but by the time of the Crusaders the church was destroyed, and subsequent travellers who visited the well mention only the ruins around it.

It would be a matter of the greatest interest if the Committee were enabled, through the liberality of Dr. Rogers and Miss Peache, not only to clear out the well, but to excavate and disclose to view the foundations of one of the earliest cruciform churches. It would then be for consideration how to give effect to the proposal to surround and protect the well with stonework.

The accompanying woodcut illustrates the state of the vault as it appeared nine years ago, but since then many of the stones composing it, and probably all the well-cut stones in the adjacent ruins, have been removed to supply materials for the new Turkish barrack, situated half a mile distant in the direction of Nablûs.

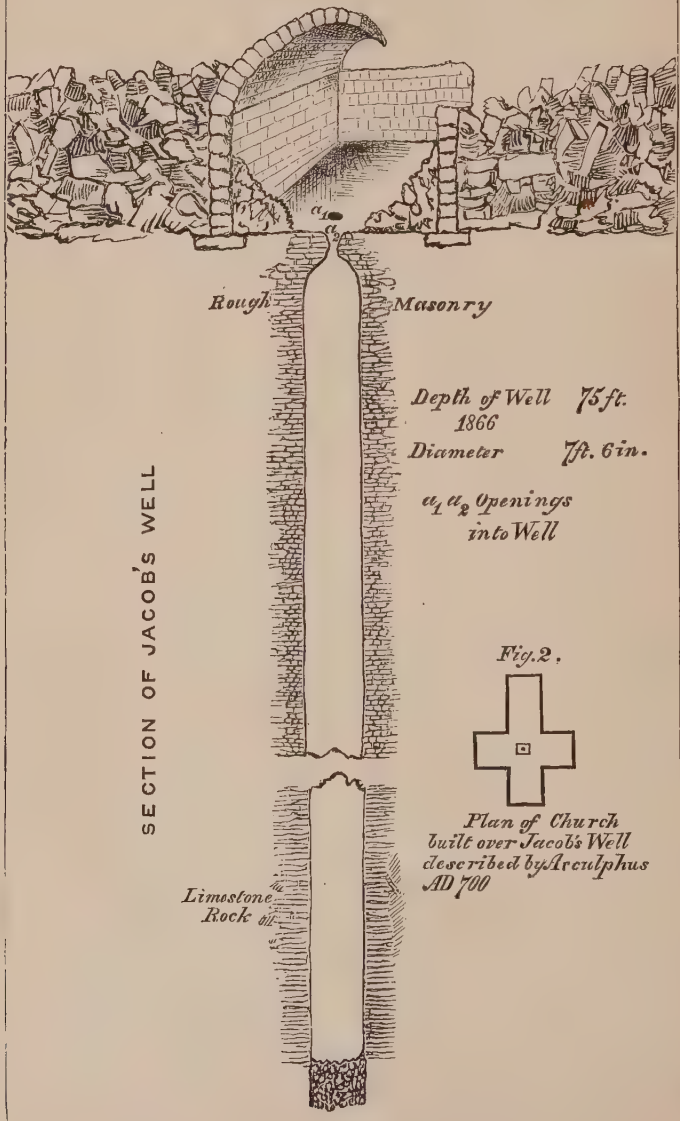
The following is the most recent account of it :—

Very probably some short account of a recent visit that I paid to Nablous may be of some interest to the many readers of the *Quarterly Statement.* The state of Jacob's

* In the *Quarterly Statement*, Jan. 1874, p. 6, reference is made to the church at Abu Ghôsh, named after St. Jerome, where excavations have disclosed a crypt, forming a complete subterranean church, which contains a cave or cistern filled with water.

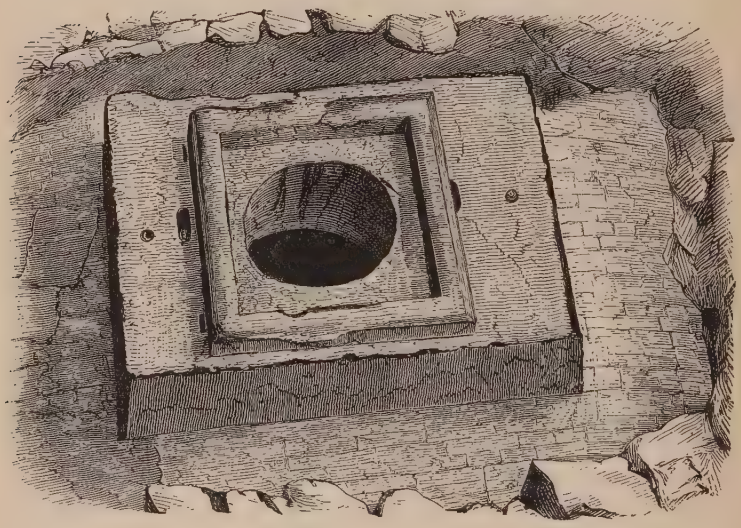
[To face p. 195.

RUINED VAULT OVER
JACOB'S WELL.



Well is doubtless well known to the majority of your subscribers, even to those who have not themselves visited the Holy Land. It has again and again been described by the many writers on Palestine, and all have mentioned their disappointment that instead of finding any semblance to a well, or anything which could recall the interview of our Lord with the woman of Samaria, they have merely found a dark irregular hole amid a mass of ruins in a vaulted chamber beneath the surface of the ground. I have shared this disappointment on many previous visits to Nablous, and again, as a fortnight ago I stood with my wife beside the spot, it was with great regret that we were so utterly unable to picture before us the scene so graphically described by the Evangelist. We had clambered down into the vault, and were vainly attempting to peer into the dark hole amid the heaps of stones and rubbish, when we chanced to notice, a few feet from the opening, a dark crack between the stones. Fancying that possibly it might be another opening of the well, we removed some stones and earth, and soon were able to trace part of a carved aperture in a large slab of stone. Deeply interested at finding this, we cleared away more earth and stones, and soon distinguished the circular mouth of the well, though it was blocked by an immense mass of stone. Calling to aid two men who were looking on, with considerable labour we at length managed to remove it, and the opening of the well was clear. It is impossible to describe our feelings as we gazed down the open well, and sat on that ledge on which doubtless the Saviour rested, and felt with our fingers the grooves in the stone caused by the ropes by which the water-pots were drawn up. The following day we devoted to completely excavating round the opening of the well, and laying bare the massive stone which forms its mouth. This consists of the hard white limestone of the country, and is

in fair preservation, though parts are broken away here and there. The annexed rude sketch gives some idea of its appearance.



The exact measurements I also give :—

| | ft. | in. |
|---|---|---|
| Length ... ... ... ... | 3 | 9 |
| Breadth ... ... ... ... | 2 | 7 |
| Thickness ... ... ... ... | 1 | 6 |
| Height above the pavement ... | 1 | 1 |
| Breadth of aperture of the well ... | 1 | $5\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Depth of the well ... ... ... | 67 | 0 |
| Width ... ... ... ... | 7 | 6 |

We let a boy down to the bottom, but found nothing of any interest, but evidently there is a large accumulation of rubbish. I trust that a stone of such intense interest may

long remain uninjured now that it has been exposed to light. —I am, yours faithfully, CHARLES WRIGHT BARCLAY.

The Rev. John Mill in his "Three Months' Residence at Nablus," published in 1864, at p. 45, states in reference to Jacob's Well, that "in 1855, when we first visited this place, we measured it as carefully as we could, and found it to be 9 ft. in diameter, and a little more than 70 ft. deep. But older travellers found it much deeper. . . . On my second visit in 1860, the mouth of the well was completely filled up, so that it was with difficulty I could identify the spot where it was. Nor could I learn how this had occurred. Some of my friends at Nablus thought that the torrents during the rains of the previous winter were the cause; but others believed that it was done by the inhabitants of the little village close by, on account of the well being bought by the Greek Church. The well, however, was completely hid from sight, to the great disappointment of many travellers beside myself.

"On further inquiry I learnt from the Greek priest that their Church had actually bought the well from the Turkish Government, including a plot of ground surrounding it, of 229 ft. by 180 ft. For this they had paid, he told me, 70,000 piastres; but another friend, belonging to the same community, told me it was at least 100,000."

Mr. Mill also mentions that the Christians call it *Beer Samariyeh*, the "Samaritan Well," while the Samaritans themselves call it *Beer Jacub*, or "Jacob's Well." He also points out that it is not an *Ain* (עין), a well of living water, but a *ber* (באר), a cistern to hold rain water.

## XV. The vase of the Temple.

This little vase which Warren found inserted in a receptacle on the rock close to the lowest stone of the

Temple—S.E. corner—must not be forgotten. The late Dr. Birch wrote of it:—

The little vase which you left accompanies the present letter. It is of rather rude shape and coarse terra-cotta, and closely resembles some in the British Museum, said to have been found in Rachel's tomb at Bethlehem. As there was

also found at the same site a shell engraved with figures, and partly carved, which might be as old as the fourth or fifth century B.C., it is just possible that the vase, which resembles Egyptian ware in shape, might be as old as that period, but there are no data to my knowledge from inscriptions on this class of pottery to determine its actual age.

There are many other monuments in Palestine, for which the reader is referred to the memoirs of the survey. Among them are the synagogues of Galilee (*see* volume called Special Papers, "The Synagogues

of Galilee," by Sir Charles Wilson); the Crusading castles (*see* the memoirs, each under its name); the Crusaders' churches, the tombs, the great ruined towns and fortresses, such as Cæsarea, Athlit, Masada, Arak-el Emir, Ammân, Petra, Tyre, &c., the Samaritan Temple and its documents, the Phœnician remains in the north, the aqueducts, ancient roads, &c., all of which may be found fully described in the memoirs.

We have thus briefly run through the principal gains to our knowledge of the country, acquired by the Society during the last twenty years. It will be acknowledged that we have been enabled to pour a flood of light upon almost every head of enquiry possible to the Biblical student. We shall presently consider the subject of what remains to be done.

Among other things that the Society has accomplished is the awakening of a general interest over the whole of Christendom in the subject. There have been founded within the last twelve years, an American, a German, and a Russian society for the exploration of Palestine. The two latter are in vigorous life, each with its Journal like ourselves. The first is unfortunately defunct. But one of its explorers, Dr. Selah Merrill, is still in Jerusalem as American Consul, and doing good work for the cause.

The foundation of the Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society is another indication of interest in the whole subject. This little society has already issued three

texts, one of which, the Translation of Procopius, on the buildings of Justinian, is, with its admirable drawings and valuable notes, a production worthy of the greatest admiration. It has three others in type waiting to be annotated.

The foundation of the Société de l'Orient Latin, directed by M. le Comte Riant, cannot be attributed to English influence, but it is an institution which, like the Pilgrims' Text Society, promises to render the highest services to the Palestine student.

# CHAPTER XII.

## OBITUARY.

In the space of twenty-one years the Society has naturally had to lament the loss by death of many supporters and friends. Among those who have actually worked for the Society in the field we have lost four. Mr. Charles F. Tyrwhitt Drake, the first of these, who died exhausted by fever and asthma in June, 1874, at the early age of 28, at the time when his knowledge of the country and the people, with a daily increasing grasp of the problems awaiting solution, made him of the greatest service to the Society's work. The second, Major Anderson, R.E., who was with Wilson on the Preliminary Expedition of 1865, died in the autumn of 1880, at the comparatively early age of 42. The third is the late Rev. F. W. Holland, Vicar of Evesham, who had made the Sinai Peninsula his own field of study. It was he who carried out the project of surveying the Peninsula, which was executed by Sir Charles Wilson in the year 1869. He visited the country six times. Up to the date of his death, which was in the year 1879, he acted with Sir George Grove as an hon. secretary of the Society. The last,

Prof. Edward Henry Palmer, was taken from the world by the tragic fate which is still in everybody's memory. His loss is one which can never be replaced.

Among the members of the Committee who have left us may be mentioned, first, those who were distinguished as travellers in Palestine, and writers on the Holy Land. These are Dean Stanley, always the most sincere friend and supporter of the Society, to which he bequeathed a small collection of books; the Rev. George Williams, author of "The Holy City"; and Mr. James Fergusson, the author of the Theory on the Sacred Sites, which caused so keen a controversy.

His first book on the subject appeared in the year 1847, and he never swerved, save in some small details, from the opinion there laid down, that the Dome of the Rock is nothing else than the Basilica of Constantine, erected over the Holy Sepulchre. He based this opinion upon the drawings of the building made by Catherwood. It involved two other theories, namely, that the Temple must necessarily have stood in the south-west corner of the Haram Area, and that the present so-called Church of the Holy Sepulchre could be nothing but a church built over a site fraudulently asserted to be that of the Sepulchre by the monks. Nothing that was afterwards discovered in the city by Wilson, Warren, Conder, and others,

ever shook him in this opinion, nor did any of the numerous books and arguments, advanced by his opponents, ever convince him that he was wrong. He died in January of the present year, and it now remains to be seen whether any one will be found to maintain the theory which he advanced and defended so obstinately and with so much success that it has been suffered to remain unquestioned for twenty-one years in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. We had also, at the end of the year 1879, to regret the sudden death of Mr. Hepworth Dixon, for some time the Chairman of the Executive Committee.

As to those former members of the Committee who were in their lifetime the supporters of the Society, to enumerate them is almost to read a roll of English worthies of the Victorian age. For instance, among the long list are the honoured names of Archbishop Tait, Bishop Wilberforce, Bishop Jackson, Emmanuel Deutsch, Prof. Donaldson, Lord Derby, Dean Howson, Lord Dunraven, Dr. Keith Johnstone, Sir Antonio Panizzi, Lord Lawrence, Sir Moses Montefiore, Lord Ossington, Dr. Norman McLeod, Dr. Pusey, Earl Russell, Sir Gilbert Scott, Mr. W. Spottiswoode, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Strangford, Sir William Tite, Lord Zetland, and Mr. W. S. W. Vaux.

# CHAPTER XIII.

## THE WORK OF THE FUTURE.

THE work of the future lies in three directions. We may (1) continue our Survey and carry out further excavations; (2) we may conduct our inquiry into the manners and customs of the people; or (3) we may publish the MSS., maps, and plans in our hands.

(1) Survey work.

We have already accomplished the survey of Western Palestine. But nearly the whole of the East, together with the North and South, awaits the surveyor. The duty of the Committee is clearly marked out by their original prospectus, as regards survey work, viz. to continue it until not an acre is left which has not been surveyed and laid down and not a ruin which has not been examined.

(2) Excavations.

The only excavations made by the Society are those at Jerusalem. There are, however, very many other sites which would well repay excavation, and it is intended to take up this branch of the work seriously as soon as funds allow and opportunity occurs. There is, however, one special piece of work which is at the present moment most urgent, and lies open to us and ready to our hands. It is this. By the accident of recent building operations in Jerusalem, a portion of a wall was laid bare (it is now covered up again) which seems likely to be no other than the ancient Second Wall. The portion uncovered was 120 ft. long, 10 ft. broad, with a rock scarp outside it at least 15 ft. deep. Its masonry is exactly similar to that in "David's Tower" with the well-known marginal draft, such as is found on the lowest courses and the more ancient portions of the Temple wall.

It is on every account desirable that this discovery should be at once followed up. The course of the

second wall involves, among many other important things, nothing less than the authenticity of the Holy Places. For if it should prove to run in such a manner as to *include* within itself the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in that case the whole of the traditional sites, the so-called sepulchre itself, with all the sacred associations, traditions, and legends gathered round it will fall to pieces at once by the mere force of that one fact. They could no longer be defended even by the stoutest upholder of tradition, because one thing is perfectly certain and cannot be denied, viz.: that the tomb of Our Lord was without the city wall. If, on the other hand, the present and traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre is proved to have been *without* the Second Wall, then the partisans of tradition will be enormously strengthened, and, though the battle between the present site as advocated by George Williams and his following, those who advocate the site proposed by Fergusson, and those who incline to that proposed by Captain Conder may still be carried on, the advantage of early tradition, not disproved by excavation, will still remain with the first.

It is proper to state that, in the opinion of Herr Conrad Schick, who has long resided in the city and studied its problems, the Second Wall will be found to follow a course (which he has indicated) which will *not* include the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The

tombs which now exist under the present buildings will then be proved to have formed part of a Jewish cemetery without the wall, and yet close to it.

(3) The manners and customs of the people.

Something has been already done in this direction. Observations have been made by Mrs. Finn, Miss Rogers, M. Clermont Ganneau, Mr. Klein, and, so far as opportunity occurred, by our own officers. But these observations have hitherto been made without method and on no scientific principle. The time has now come, and the opportunity, when an inquiry can be undertaken into the whole field of what we call manners and customs, and this, not in Palestine only, but over the whole of Syria and the adjacent countries. The Committee have placed themselves in communication with the Anthropological Society, the Folklore Society, and other learned bodies, and with their assistance, and the help of Captain Conder, to whom belongs the principal credit of the work, they have prepared a set of questions covering the religion, tradition, folklore, arts, customs, proverbs, &c., of the various people inhabiting the country. These questions are arranged according to the people for whom they are intended. The subscribers of the Society were invited at the outset of the work, which has not been hurried, to send in questions; many complied with this invitation. Captain Conder wishes to take this opportunity of informing those whose questions

have been given to him, that he believes they will all be found, though perhaps in different forms, in the questions prepared by him. Thus, though it is most important that the questions should serve the purpose of Biblical illustration, it is necessary that they should not be so put as to suggest a Biblical bearing and therefore an obvious answer. Those questions now ready will be placed in the proper hands immediately, and the results will be duly published.

(4) Publication of work already done.

It must be remembered that work is not completed until it is published. There is a general tendency among the supporters of our enterprise to discontinue or to suspend their support at those times when there is no party in the field. Now, first of all, the work of the Society in the Holy Land itself, as may be seen from the *Quarterly Statement*, is never stopped. Grants are always required for some piece of work or other. But, secondly, when the results come home they have to be published or they are useless.

Now there is at present in the hands of the Committee, a whole mass of work which loudly calls for publication. It consists of—

1. Captain Conder's Survey of Eastern Palestine. This amounts to as much letterpress as would fill a volume of the "Survey of Western Palestine," with hundreds of draw-

ings and places. The cost of publication would be about £1,000.

2. M. Lecomte's drawings, made for the Committee under M. Clermont Ganneau's supervision. There are about 700 of these, mostly quite small, representing architectural details and ruins. They are drawn with extreme delicacy and beauty, and form a most remarkable addition to the archæology of the country. The cost of publication would be about £1,200.
3. Mr. Chichester Hart's "Memoir on the Natural History of the Wâdy Arabah." The illustrations for this memoir are already drawn. It would not cost more than about £200.
4. We are also expecting another instalment of work from Herr G. Schumacher, in addition to that already published under the title "Across the Jordan."
5. The answers to the questions about to be sent to the Holy Land will also have to be published when they have been arranged and digested.

The Committee, therefore, think that they may fairly ask their friends to mark the twenty-first anniversary of the foundation of the Society by raising the sum necessary to accomplish the above objects, viz.,—to recapitulate:—

1. The prosecution of the discovery of the Second Wall, or of the wall which may prove to be the Second Wall.
2. The promotion of the inquiry into the manners and customs of the various people inhabiting the Bible lands.
3. The publication of the various MSS. now in the hands of the Committee.

The history of the Society has now been briefly treated from the beginning. It has been shown that the Committee have been steadily at work without intermission for twenty-one years. The Biblical gains have been so great that the whole of the topography and geography of the country have been reconstructed; as regards Jerusalem, we now know and understand the magnificence on which Josephus dwells with what was previously believed to be patriotric exaggeration; everything which has been examined shows the minute accuracy, so far as places are concerned, of the historical portions of the Bible, as, for instance, in the case of many towns mentioned in the Book of Joshua, sites have been recovered simply by observing the order in which they are placed. Then, including those finds which are not the property, so to speak, of the Society, we have in the Moabite Stone and the Siloam inscription documents contemporary with the kings of Judah and Israel, and written in the same character (from which

our own is descended) that was employed by the writers of the Old Testament books; in the stone of Herod's Temple we have actually one of those boundary stones which stood in the courts, trodden by the feet of Our Lord; in the Gezer inscriptions we have the ancient town boundaries; in the Head of Hadrian we have the very image which, placed upon the site of the Holy of Holies, finally provoked the Jews to their last and most desperate revolt; in the cromlechs and stone circles of the east, and in the high places of the west we have the remains of the old sun worship, which the Israelites were commanded to drive out of the land; we can for the first time follow David in his wanderings, and the campaigns of the Jewish warriors, Judges and Kings; we know the birds, the beasts, the reptiles, and the fishes of the land; we know the trees, the plants, and the flowers; nay, we know the very rocks, the foundations of the land. More than this, and outside the Bible, the country is covered with remains of Canaanite, Israelite, Phœnician, Greek, Roman, Christian, Saracen, Frank and Mohammedan. Their cemeteries, temples, synagogues, and castles are dotted over the whole country. We can read these monuments so as to discern between all these people. We can assign to the Crusader the stones which he dressed for his castle; to the Jew, his synagogue; to the early Christian, his hermitage; and to the Saracen, his khan; to each tomb we can assign a

class and the period of its first contruction, whether it be the splendid monument known as Joshua's Tomb, which was certainly constructed for some prince in Israel, or the tomb in the garden near the Place of Stoning, which is the Hill of the Skull, where, as Captain Conder thinks, is the "new Tomb," in which no man had lain until there was brought thither a certain dead Body from a cross, and a great stone was rolled across the door, and two women sat weeping without.

# APPENDIX I.

## CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE FUND'S WORK.

1865. Foundation of the Society, June 22nd, 1865. Patron—The Queen. President—The Archbishop of York. Hon. Treas.—John Abel Smith and Robert Culling Hanbury. Hon. Sec.—George Grove.

Drawing up of the Original Prospectus.
Meetings and Letters to the Papers.
Organisation of First Expedition.

1866. First Expedition of Captain Wilson, R.E., and Lieutenant Anderson, R.E.

*Publications*—Captain Wilson's Letters and Report.

1867. Consideration of question whether the survey or the excavations at Jerusalem should be next carried on.

Despatch of Lieutenant Warren with a party of non-commissioned officers of Royal Engineers for the excavations.

1868. } Excavations at Jerusalem.
1869. } Discovery of the Moabite stone.
1870. } Discovery (by M. Clermont Ganneau) of the Stone of the Temple.

Survey of Sinai.

Return of Captain Warren.

*Publications*—Lieutenant Warren's Letters, I.–XXXIV.

Commencement of *Quarterly Statement*, March, 1869.

1871. Palmer's Journey through the Desert of the Tîh.

*Results*—Departure of the survey Expedition, October.

*Publications*—Palmer's Report.

Warren on the Plains of Philistia.

Palmer's Notes on Lebanon.

Papers by Hyde Clarke, Clermont Ganneau.

Palmer's Hist. of the Haram Esh Sherif.

First Paper on the Hamath Inscriptions.

All in the *Quarterly Statement.*

1872. First year of the survey—Captain Stewart is compelled by ill-health to resign—Lieutenant Conder takes his place—Despatch of an American Expedition to survey Eastern Palestine.

*Results*—One thousand square miles surveyed; identification of Tell Jezer with Gezer; discovery of a great aqueduct from the souterrain at the Convent of the Sisters of Zion (now considered by Sir Charles Wilson as the Pool of Bethesda).

*Publications*—Arabic Names and Plans, by Captain Warren.

East of Jordan, Expedition to, by Rev. A. E. Northey.

Meteorology, by James Glaisher, F.R.S.

Palestine and Cuneiform Inscriptions, by George Smith.

Temple Middoth, Tract on the Measurements of.

All in the *Quarterly Statement.*

Our Work in Palestine. First edition.

1873. Continuation of survey—2,000 square miles accom-

plished—Special surveys of Athlit, Cæsarea, Miamas, Kŭlŭnsawieh, Tantura, El Midieh, Deir Asrur.

Joshua's tomb.

Discovery of a Samaritan inscription (Deuteronomy iv. 29–31) at Gaza.

First publication of the Rock Levels of Jerusalem.

The "Moabite Pottery" forgery.

Report on the Baalbek Ruins, by Captain Conder.

Papers in the *Quarterly Statement*—

"Ebal and Gerizim," by Captain Wilson.

The Comparative Chronology of Palestine, Egypt, and Assyria, by F. R. Conder.

Proposed Restoration of the Hamath Inscriptions.

Notes on Jerusalem Discoveries, by C. W. Wilson.

1874. Archæological Mission of M. Clermont Ganneau (Nov. 1873 to Nov. 1874).

*Results*—Discovery of early Christian sarcophagi; the Head of Hadrian; identification of Stone of Bohan; the Cave of Adullam; opening of tombs at the Khurbet Kûrman; collection of legends; indication of distinctive character of stones cut by the Crusaders; excavating a sepulchral cave near the Mount of Olives; discovery and plan of an ancient cemetery N.E. of Jerusalem; identification of Mount Scopus; discovery of the Moabite forgeries; excavations in the Haram; examination of the Kubbet es Sakhra; excavation of rock-cut chambers near the Ecce Homo Arch; identification of the Forest

of Harith; flint implements near Jerusalem; Kurn Surtabeh and its associations; discovery of the "Boundary of Gezer"; discovery of an ancient Arabic inscription in the Haram; the "Vase of Bezetha," &c., together with plans, sections, drawings, &c., by M. Lecomte (still unpublished).

Continuation of the Survey (3,000 square miles completed) — Examination of the cave called Mŭgharet Umm el Tuweimeh, plans of Fureidis, Kŭsr el Yahud, Kŭsr el Hajlah, Deir el Kelt, Kalaat Hathrurah, site of Gilgal, aqueducts in the Plain of Jericho, Suk Wady Barada, El Midieh (Modin), Kh. Ikbala, Yerzeh, Kaukab el Hawa, Beisan, identification of Antipatris and Ænon, discovery of rude stone monuments, &c.

Death of Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake.

*Quarterly Statement*—Mr. James Glaisher on Meteorology of Palestine. Exposure of the Moabite forgeries.

1875. Continuation of the survey up to July, when an attack upon the party at Safed caused their withdrawal from the country.

*Results*—Identifications of Alexandrium, Azekah, the Rock Etam, Chozeba, the tower of Ader, Máarath, Arab, Cliff of Ziz, Zanoah, Ziph, Hareth, the Valley of Blessing, Bezeth, Rock of Maon, Hachilah, Debir, Shocoh. Examination and special surveys of El Ramah, Mŭgharet Suffa, Makkedah, Masada Gath, Keslah, Gerar, Umm el Amdan, Aziz, Susieh, Kh. Khoreisa, Kh. el Mintar, Kh. Bir el Seba, and El Ghurra; examination of Pilate's Aqueduct; Levitical boundary

of Eshtemoa; essays on the site of Nob, David's outlaw life, the rock scarp of Zion, mediæval topography of Palestine, the temple of Herod, the tomb of David, the site of Adullam, ancient Jewish graves, and the Arabs in Palestine.

Excavations on Mount Zion, and discovery of part of the Frst Wall.

Journey of Mr. Greville Chester to er Ruad.

1876. In this year the whole party remained at home, and were engaged in office work. The amount of survey work brought home covered the whole of Western Palestine with the exception of 1,400 square miles.

The following important papers were communicated to the Committee by Captain Conder:—

On the Early Christian Topography of Palestine; on Rock-cut Tombs; on Proposed Tests for the Survey; on the First Traveller in Palestine; on Palestine before Joshua; on the Language of the Native Peasantry; on the Fertility of Palestine; on Samaritan Topography, &c.

1877. The survey of Western Palestine was resumed by Lieutenant Kitchener, R.E., and completed in the teeth of difficulties, owing to the general excitement and the chances of immediate war.

The following papers were communicated by Captain Conder:—

On Megiddo; on Christian and Jewish Traditions; on the Boundaries of Ephraim, Manasseh and Issachar; on Nob; on the Moslem Mukams, and others.

M. Clermont Ganneau contributed a valuable paper on the tombs under the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and Sir Charles Wilson various notes on recent discoveries.

1878. Office work and preparation of maps and memoirs.

*Publications*—Papers on many points connected with the survey, especially on Joshua's Tomb; on Architecture in Palestine; the Site of Ai; the Survey of Galilee, &c.

*Discovery* of the Stone of Bethphage.

*Publication* of Captain Conder's Tent Work in Palestine.

1879. Preparation of memoirs and maps.

*Publications*—On the Transference of Sites, by William Simpson; on the Fellaheen of Palestine, by Wm. Finn; on a Journey on Foot through Arabia Petræa, by F. W. Holland; on Modern Researches in Palestine, by Selah Merrill; on a Journey into Moab, by Conrad Schick.

Death of Mr. Hepworth Dixon.

1880. *Publication* of the Great Map, and reduction for the engraving of the small map—Printing of memoirs.

*Publications*—Klein's Journey into Moab; Greville Chester's Journey through the Cities of the Delta, and Examination of the Lacus Serbonicus; Sir Charles Wilson's Treatise on the Masonry of the Haram Wall.

*Discovery*—The Inscription of the Pool of Siloam.

1881. Commencement of the survey of Eastern Palestine.

*Discoveries*—Inscription of Baalbek; Kadesh of the Hittites; inscription at Homs; the Egyptian harbour of Tyre; Bethulia, the Mountain of the Scape-goat; Ain

Kadîs; the Pool in Gibeon; Kirjath Jearim; Beth Haccerem.

*Publications*—The Decipherment of the Inscription in the Pool of Siloam, by Rev. Professor Sayce; on the Old City of Dera'a, by Rev. Professor Porter; Sun Worship in Syria; the Topography of the Exodus; the Manners and Customs of the Fellaheen; the discovery of Ain Quadis, or Kadis by Professor Trumbull; on the Hittites, by W. St. Chad. Boscawen.

First volume of the Memoirs of the "Survey of Western Palestine," issued this year.

Death of the Rev. F. W. Holland and Major Anderson, R.E.

1882. Completion of the first 500 square miles of Eastern Palestine.

Forced return of Captain Conder.

*Discoveries*—A remarkable Sassanian building at Amman; over 600 names formed and noted; examination of 200 ruins; 400 cromlechs sketched; 36 photographs taken; identification of the "Field of Zophim;" the Ascent of Luhith, Jazer, Sibmah, and Minnith; another gate in the eastern wall.

Examination of the Hebron Haram by the Royal Party, accompanied by Sir Charles Wilson and Captain Conder.

*Publications* — Archæological notes by M. Clermont Ganneau; the Prince's Journey through the Holy Land; Captain Conder's Reports and Papers, &c.

Death of Professor Palmer.

1883. Preparation of map and memoirs of Eastern Palestine.

*Publications*—Publication of the "Survey of Western Palestine," Memoirs, Vols. II. and III.; Special Papers, Name Lists; Papers on the Exodus, the Siloam inscriptions, the Hamath inscriptions, the Shapira MSS., the climate of Jerusalem, &c.

1884. The Geological Expedition—Left England Oct. 18, 1883, returned in the spring of 1884; survey of Wâdy Arabah by Lieut.-Colonel Kitchener, R.E.

*Publications*—Completion of the Memoirs of Western Palestine, by publication of the Jerusalem volumes and portfolio of plans; Conder's "Heth and Moab;" Conder's "Tent Work in Palestine." Cheap edition; Papers in the *Quarterly Statement* by Sir Charles Wilson, Captain Conder, Mr. Lawrence Oliphant, &c.

Journey of Mr. Oliphant into the Jaulân.

1885. Survey of a portion of country in the Jaulân by Herr Schumacher ("Across the Jordan"); Journey of Mr. Guy Le Strange in Eastern Palestine.

Notes by Mr. Laurence Oliphant on the Jaulân.

*Publications* — Papers by Canon Tristram, General Charles Gordon, Captain Conder, Sir John Coode, Messrs. Greville Chester, Selah Merrill, W. F. Birch, Tomkins, Baker-Greene.

# APPENDIX II.

## CAPTAIN CONDER'S IDENTIFICATIONS IN WESTERN PALESTINE.

N.B.—The Roman Numerals I., II., &c., refer to the Sheets of the Map.

1. *Abel Meholah*, 1 Kings iv. 12. Jerome (Onomasticon s.v., Abel Maula) places this 10 miles south of Scythopolis "in Aulone" (*i.e.*, the Jordan Valley) which indicates the present *'Ain Helweh*. (XII.)
2. *Abez*. Joshua xix. 20. Probably the present ruin *el Beida*, at the north end of the plain of Esdraelon. The Arabic exactly corresponds to the Hebrew with the same meaning, "white." (VIII.)
3. *Achshaph*. Joshua xix. 25. Wrongly placed by Robinson near Banias, probably the present village *el Yasîf*, north-east of Acre. It is often mentioned in Egyptian records, and the proposed site agrees both with these and the Biblical indications of situation. (III.)
4. *Adami*, Joshua xix. 33. The present ruin *Admah*, on the plateau south-west of the Sea of Galilee, in a satisfactory position with relation to towns noticed in the context. (IX.)
5. *Adasa*, Kh 'Adaseh. (XVII.)
6. *Adullam*,' Aid el Mia (Ganneau). (XXI.)
7. *Aenon*, 'Ainûn (Robinson) (XII.)
8. *Ai*, Haiyâ. (XVII.)
9. *Amad*, Joshua xix. 26. Apparently the ruin called *el 'Amûd*, north of Acre, in correct relative position. (III.)

10. *Anab*, Joshua xv. 50. The ruin *'Anâb*, west of edh Dhaherîyeh, incorrectly fixed by Robinson at Deir esh Shems, east of the same. (XXV.)
11. *Anaharath*, Joshua xix. 19. The village *en Na'ûrah*, in correct relative position to other towns of Issachar. (IX.)
12. *Anem*, 1 Chronicles vi. 73. The village *'Anîn*, in the hills west of the plain of Esdraelon, in a satisfactory position within the border of Manasseh. (VIII.)
13. *Aner*, 1 Chronicles vi. 70. Possibly the present village *Allâr*, in the hills south-west of the plain of Esdraelon.
14. *Arab*, Joshua xv. 32. The present ruin *er Rabîyeh* in suitable relative situation. (XXI.)
15. *Archi*, *'Ain 'Arîk*. (XVII.)
16. *Ataroth Adar*, ed *Dârieh*. (XVII.)
17. *Baalath*, Joshua xix. 44; 1 Kings ix, 18; VIII Ant. vi. 1. Probably the present village *Bela'în*, in a suitable position west of Bethhoron and commanding the main road to Jerusalem. (XIV.)
18. *Baal Shalisha*, 2 Kings iv. 42. Probably the present village *Kefr Thilth*, in suitable situation in the territory of Ephraim on the lower hills. The Arabic *Thilth* is derived from the Hebrew *Shalish* ("three"). (XIV.)
19. *Bahurim*, *'Almit*. (XVII.)
20. *Berea*, *Bîreh*. (XVII.)
21. *Beten*, Joshua xix. 25. Is identified by Eusebius (Onomasticon s.v., Bathnai), with a village, Beth Beten, 8 miles east of Acre. This seems to indicate the village *el Baneh*. (IV.)
22. *Bethabara*, *'Abârah*. (IX.)
23. *Beth Dagon*, Joshua xix. 27. Probably the present ruin *Tell D'auk*, in correct relative position near the mouth of the river Belus. (Compare Dagon or Docus, near Jericho, now 'Ain Dûk.) (V.)

24. *Beth Shemesh* (of Issachar), Joshua xix, 22. Possibly the ruined site *'Ain esh Shemsîyeh*, in the JordanValley. (IX.)
25. *Bethulia, Mithilia.* (VIII.)
26. *Betomestham* (Judith iv. 6). The present ruin *Massîn.* (VIII.)
27. *Bezek*, Judges i. 5. Probably the ruin *Bezkah*, south of Lydda. (XIII.)
28. *Bezek*, 1 Samuel ii. 8. *Bezîk.* (XII.)
29. *Calvary, el Heidhemîyeh.* (XVII.)
30. *Charashim* (Valley), 1 Chronicles iv. 14, mentioned in connection with Lod and Ono (Nehemiah xi. 35). The name survives at *Khurbet Hirsha*, on the bank of the great valley east of Lydda. (XVII.)
31. *Chezib*, Genesis xxxviii. 5; Joshua xv. 44. The name appears to linger at the spring *'Ain Kezbeh*, near Beit Nettîf, in a satisfactory position in relation to other towns of the same group. Jerome (Onomasticon s.v.) makes Chasbi a ruined site near Adullam, which agrees. (XXI.)
32. *Choba* or *Chobai*, Judith iv. 4. The Peutinger Tables place Coabis 12 miles south of Scythopolis. This points to the ruin called *el Mekhobby*, on the ancient road from Shechem. The name has the meaning "hiding place." (XII.)
33. *Chozeba*, 1 Chronicles iv. 22. Possibly the ruin *Kuiezîba*, north-east of Hebron. (XXI.)
34. *Dannah* ("low ground"), Joshua xv. 49. Probably the village *Idhnah* in the low hills. The position appears suitable. (XXI.)
35. *Debir, edh* Dhâherîyeh. (XXV.)
36. *Diblath*, Ezekiah vi. 14. Apparently the village *Dibl*, in Upper Galilee, unless it be an error for Riblah. (IV.)

37. *Ebenezer*, possibly *Deir Abâu.** (XVII.)
38. *Edrei*, Joshua xix. 37. Apparently the present village *Y'ater.* The relative position is suitable, and the letters T and D often interchanged. (IV.)
39. *Eleasa, The ruin Il'asa.*
40. *Eleph*, Joshua xviii. 28. The present village *Lifta*, west of Jerusalem. The situation agrees with the boundary of Judah. See p. 10.
41. *Eton*, Joshua xix. 43. Probably the present village, *Beit Ellu.* The relative situation is satisfactory.
42. *Elon Beth Hanan* ("plain of B. Hanan"), I Kings iv. 9. Probably the village *Beit 'Anân*, in the low hills east of Lydda. The situation agrees with the context. (XVII.)
43. *Emmaus*, possibly *Khamasa*, (XVII.)
44. *Eltekeh*, Joshua xix. 44. Apparently *Beit Likia*, in the territory of Dan. In the list of the victories of Sennacherib (Assyrian Discoveries, pp. 302-305), the "plains of Eltekeh" are mentioned with towns of Dan. This agrees with the situation of the modern village. (XVII.)
45. *Enam.* Joshua xv. 34. Possibly the ruin *'Allîn*, in the low hills south-west of Jerusalem. The relative situation appears satisfactory. The change of N to L and M to N is not unusual. (XVII.)
46. *Engannim* (of Judah), Joshua xv. 34. Apparently the present ruin *Umm Jîna.* The relative situation is satisfactory. (XVI.) (Clermont Ganneau.)
47. *Enhaddah*, Joshua xix. 21. Probably the present ruin *Kefr Adân*, south-west of the Plain of Esdraelon. The situation appears probable. (VIII.)

* M. C. Ganneau identified Deir Abâu with the Abel of Beth Shemesh. The identification with the Ebenezer of the Onomasticon was first suggested by Captain Conder.

48. *Eshean*, Joshua xv. 52. Possibly the ruin *es Simia*, near Dumah (Dômeh), south of Hebron. The situation is satisfactory, and the site ancient. (XXI.)
49. *Esora*, Judith iv. 4. Probably the village *'Asîreh*, north of Shechem. The situation is suitable. (XI.)
50. *Etam*. 2 Chronicles xi. 6. The present ruin *'Aitûn*, south-west of Hebron. The situation agrees with the context. (XX.)
51. *Etam* (Rock). *Beit 'Atab*. (XVII.)
52. *Ether*, Joshua xv. 42. Probably the ruin *el 'Atr*, near Beit Jibrin, on the west. The situation appears satisfactory. (XX.)
53. *Gallim*, 1 Samuel xxv. 44; Isaiah x. 30. Possibly the village *Beit Jâla* near Bethlehem. (XVII.)
54. *Gederah*, Joshua xv. 36 (mentioned in the Onomasticon, s.v. Gedor, as 10 miles from Eleutheropolis, on the road to Diospolis), the important ruin of *Jedîreh*. The situation appears to agree with the context. (XVI.)
55. *Gederah* (of Benjamin), 1 Chronicles xii. 4. The present ruin *Jedîreh*, north of Jerusalem. (XVII.)
56. *Gederoth*, Joshua xv. 41. Probably from its situation the present village *Katrah*, near Yebnah, as proposed also by Colonel Warren, R.E. (XVI.)
57. *Gezer*, *Tell Gezer* (C. Ganneau). (XVI.)
58. *Gibbethon*, Joshua xix. 44. Probably the present village *Kibbiah*, at the foot of the hills near Lydda. The situation agrees with the context. (XIV.)
59. *Gibeah*, Joshua xviii. 28. The present ruin *Jibîa*, in the territory of Benjamin. (XVII.)
60. *Gibeah-ha-Elohim*, 1 Samuel x. 5; and 1 Samuel xv. 3. Now Jeb'a.
61. *Gibeah Phinehas*. *'Awertah*. (XII.)
62. *Gilead Mount*. The name exists in *W. Jâlûd*. (IX.)

63. *Gilgal.* The ruin of Jiljûlieh. (XVIII.)
64. *Giloh*, Joshua xv. 51. Probably the ruin *Jâla* in the Hebron Mountains. The situation appears to agree with the context. (XXI.)
65. *Hachilah* (Hill). Now *el Kolah.* (XXI.)
66. *Hammon*, Joshua xix. 28. Apparently the ruin *Hima*, south-east of Tyre. The situation appears to be satisfactory. (III.)
67. *Hannathon*, Joshua xix. 14. On the boundary of Zebulon and Naphtali. The present village *Kefr 'Anân.* (VI.)
68. *Haphraim*, Joshua xix. 14. In the Onomasticon, s.v., the village Affarea is placed 6 miles north of Legio (*el Lejjûn*); this fixes it at the ancient ruined site *el Farrîyeh*, which appears to be a suitable position for the Biblical town. (VIII.)
69. *Hareth*, now *Kharâs.* (XXI.)
70. *Harod.* Possibly *'Ain el Jemm'ain.* (IX.)
71. *Hazor*, Joshua xi. 1. *Hadîreh*, near Robinson's site. (IV.)
72. *Hazor*, Nehemiah xi. 33. Evidently the ruin *Hazzûr* north of Jerusalem, (XVII.)
73. *Horem*, Joshua xix. 38. Apparently the ruin *Hârah.* The situation seems possible. (IV.)
74. *Hozah*, Joshua xix. 29. Apparently the present ruin *Ozzîyeh*, on the coast south of Tyre. The situation is satisfactory, and the changes of *'Ain* for *Kheth* and of *Zain* for *Tzadi*, are both recognised. (III.)
75. *Ijon* ("ruin"), 1 Kings xv. 20. Possibly *Khiyâm*, in the *Merj 'Ayûn*, west of Banias. The name survives latter title, but the former may be a corruption and represent the exact site. (II.)
76. *Irpeel*, Joshua xviii. 27. Probably the village *Râfât*, north of Jerusalem. The name is derived from a similar root, and the situation is satisfactory. (XVII.)

77. *Jabneel*, Joshua xix. 33. A town of Naphtali stated in the Jerusalem Talmud (Megillah i. 1) to have been called at a later period Caphar Yama. This indicates ruin *Yemma*, and the situation agrees with that of the other towns in this group. (VI.)

78. *Janoah*, 2 Kings xv. 29. The present village *Yanûh* in the hills south-east of Tyre. The situation appears satisfactory as within the territory of Naptali. There is a second *Yanûh* further south. (II.)

79. *Janum*, Joshua xv. 53. Probably the village *Beni Naim*, east of Hebron. The situation appears to agree with the context. (XXI.)

80. *Jeshanah*, 2 Chronicles xiii. 19. The situation points to the identification of this site with the ancient village *'Ain Sinia.* (XIV.) (Clermont Ganneau.).

81. *Jeshua*, Nehemiah xi. 26. Probably the present ruin *S'awi*, east of Beersheba. The situation is relatively satisfactory. (XXV.)

82. *Jethlah*, Joshua xix. 42. Probably the ruin *Beit Tûl*, in the low hills west of Jerusalem. The situation appears probable. (XVII.)

83. *Joktheel*, Joshua xv. 38. Belonging to a group of which little is yet known. Possibly the large ruin *Kutlâneh*, south of Gezer. The words are from similar roots. (XVI.)

84. *Kedesh* (in Issachar), 1 Chronicles vi. 72. Possibly the ancient site *Tell Abu Kudeis* near Lejjûn. (VIII.)

85. *Kibzaim*, Joshua xxi, 22. The name is radically identical with that of *Tell Abu Kabûs*, near Bethel. The situation is not impossible. (XVII.)

86. *Kirjath*, Joshua xviii. 28. The present Kuriet el 'Anab is more generally known to the natives as *Kurieh.* The situation agrees well for Kirjath of Benjamin, but not for Kirjath Jearim. (XVII.)

87. *Kirjath Jearim.* Probably 'Erma. (XVII.)
88. *Lachish*, Joshua x. 3. (In the Onomasticon, s.v., this city is placed 7 Roman miles south of Eleutheropolis B. Jibrîn.) The site of Tell el Hesy nearly agrees with this, and is more satisfactory than *Umm Lakis* proposed by Robinson. The identification supposes the change of Caph to Kheth, of which we have an accepted instance in the case of Michmash. (XX.)
89. *Lahmam*, Joshua xv. 40. Possibly the ruins *el Lahm*, near Beit Jibrin. The situation appears satisfactory, and the site is ancient. (XX.)
90. *Lasharon*, Joshua xii. 18. Apparently in Lower Galilee. Possibly the ruin *Sarôna*, west of the Sea of Galilee. Jerome (Onomasticon, s.v.) says that the plain east of Tabor was called Sharon in his time. (VI.)
91. *Luz*, Judges i. 26. Possibly the ruin Lueîzeh, west of Banias, on the border of the Hittite country. (II.)
92. *Maarath*, Joshua xv. 59. Probably from its relative position the present village *Beit Ummar* (the Bethamari of the Onomasticon.) (XXI.)
93. *Madmannah*, Joshua xv. 31. Possibly the ruin *Umm Deimneh*, north of Beersheba. The situation appears satisfactory. (XXIV.)
94. *Madon*, Joshua xi. 1. Apparently in Lower Galilee, perhaps the ruin *Madîn* close to Hattîn. (VI.)
95. *Mahaneh Dan*, near 'Erma. (XVII.)
96. *Makkedah*, el Mughâr (Warren). (XVI.)
97. *Manahath*, 1 Chronicles viii. 6. Possibly the village *Mâlhah*, south-west of Jerusalem, which appears to be the Manocho of Joshua xv. 60 (inserted passage in LXX). The change of L for N is common.
98. *Maralah*, Joshua xix. 11. According to the description of the boundary of Zebulon, this would occupy

about the position of the present village *Malûl*. The L and R are easily convertible. (VIII.)

99. *Mearah*, Joshua xiii. 4. Apparently *Mogheirîyeh*, north of Sidon.

100. *Megiddo*, possibly Mujedd'a. (IX.)

101. *Meronoth*, 1 Chronicles xxvii. 30. Possibly the ruin *Marrîna*, in the Hebron hills. (XXI.)

102. *Misheal*, Joshua xix. 26. Probably the ruin *Maîsleh*, near Acre. The situation is suitable for a town of Asher. (III.)

103. *Mozah*, Joshua xviii. 26. According to the Jerusalem Talmud, was called Kolonia. A ruin called *Beit Mizzeh* exists near Kolônia, west of Jerusalem, in a suitable situation. (XVII.) (C. F. T. Drake.)

104. *Naamah*, Joshua xv. 41. Probably *Na'âneh*, south of Ramleh, as proposed by Colonel Warren, R.E. The situation is suitable. (XVI.)

105. *Nahallal*, Joshua xix. 15. According to the Jerusalem Talmud (Megilla i. 1) this place was called, at a later period, Mahlul. This seems to indicate the village *'Ain Mahîl*, in a suitable position. (VI.)

106. *Nebo*, Ezra ii. 29. Perhaps *Nûba*, south of Jerusalem. (XXI.)

107. *Neiel* (Han-N'aial), Joshua xix. 27. The ruin *Y'anîn* is found in the required position. The change in the position of the guttural and of N for L is not unusual. (V.)

108 *Nekeb*, Joshua xix. 33. The Jerusalem Talmud (Megilla i. 1) gives the later name of this site as Siadetha. This points to the ruin *Seiyada* on the plateau west of the Sea of Galilee, a position agreeing with the context. (VI.)

109. *Nephtoah*, Joshua xv. 9 (a spring). The Talmud of Babylon (Yoma 31*a*) identifies this with the En Etam,

whence an aqueduct led to the Temple. This indicates *'Ain 'Atân*, south of Bethlehem. See p. 10. (XVII.)

110. *Ophrah*, Judges vi. 11. Probably Ferâta, near Shechem, the ancient name of which was Ophrah (see Samaritan Chronicle). (XI.)

111. *Pirathon*, Judges xii. 15, and Pharathoni (1 Macc. ix. 50). Possibly *Fe'rôn*, west of Shechem. The loss of the T is not unusual, and the present name retains the guttural. (XI.)

112. *Rabbah*, Joshua xv. 60. Possibly the ruin *Rubba*, west of Beit Jibrîn. (XXI.)

113. *Rabbith*, Joshua xix. 20. The present village *Râba*, south-east of the plain of Esdraelon, appears to be in a suitable position. (XII.)

114. *Rakkon* ("shore") Joshua xix. 46. The situation of *Tell er Rakkeit* appears suitable, north of Jaffa, near the mouth of the river Aujeh (probably Mejarkon). (XIII.)

115. *Sarid*, Joshua xix. 10. The Syriac version reads Asdod, and the LXX reads Sadouk (Vat. MS.). The original may be thought to have been Sadid, in which case *Tell Shadûd* occupies a very probable position for this site (compare Maralah). (VIII.)

116. *Secacah*, Joshua xv. 61. In the Judean desert. Possibly the ruin *Sikkeh*, east of Bethany. (XVII.)

117. *Sechu*, probably *Suweekeh*. (XVII.)

118. *Seneh* (Rock), *Wâdy Suweinît*. (XVII.)

119. *Shaaraim*, Joshua xv. 36. The ruin *S'aîreh*, west of Jerusalem, occupies a suitable position. (XVII.)

120. *Shamir*, Joshua xv. 48. Probably the ruin *Sômerah*, west of Dhâherîyeh, the situation being suitable to the context. (XXIV.)

121. *Sharuhen*, Joshua xix. 6. Probably *Tell esh Sheri'ah*. The position is suitable, and the conversion of the

guttural Kheth to 'Ain is of constant occurrence, as is also the loss of the final N. (XXIV.)

122. *Sorek* (Valley). The name *Surîk* was found applying to a ruin north of this valley, as mentioned in the Onomasticon. (XVII.)

123. *Thimnatha*, Joshua xix. 43. Generally identified with Timnah of Judah, appears more probably to be *Tibneh*, north-east of Lydda, on the border of Dan. (XIV.)

124. *Timnath Heres*, Kefr Hâris. (XIV.)

125. *Tiphshah*, Tafs-ah. (XIV).

126 *Tirzah*, Teiasîr. (XII.)

127. *Ummah*, Joshua xix. 30. The ruin *'Alma* occupies a suitable position in the territory of Asher. The L represents the Hebrew M and the guttural is preserved. (III.)

128. *Uzzen Sherah*, 1 Chronicles vii. 24. Mentioned with Bethhoron. Possibly *Beit Sîra*, south-west of the site of Bethhoron. (XVII.)

129. *Zaanaim*, Bessûm. (VI.)

130. *Zartanah*, 1 Kings iv. 12. Mentioned as "beneath Jezreel." Probably the large site of *Tell Sârem*, near Beisân. (IX.)

131. *Zereda*, 1 Kings xi. 26. In Mount Ephraim. Probably the present *Surdeh*, west of Bethel. (XIV.)

132. *Ziz* (Ha Ziz) (ascent of), 2 Chronicles xx. 16. Probably, connected with the name Hazezon Tamar, for Engedi, Genesis xiv. 7; 2 Chronicles xx. 2. The name *Hasâsah* was found to apply to the plateau north-west of Engedi. (XXII.)

This list contains 132 names. Out of about 620 topographical names mentioned in the Bible in Western Palestine, about 430 have now been identified (or about two-thirds). Out of these 430 a total of 132, as above shown (or about a third), are thus due to the survey.

On the other hand, out of about 200 names of the places in the Sinaitic Desert, or in the country east of Jordan, 70 only are known, including the latest identifications of the American survey and of Lieutenant Conder (Handbook to the Bible), being a proportion of little over one-third. Many important sites, such as Mahanaim, Jabesh Gilead, &c., remain still to be recovered east of Jordan.

In addition to this list published in 1880, several new identifications by Captain Conder will be found in the later *Quarterly Statements*, and those of the Eastern Survey are given in "Heth and Moab."

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